The Communist

10c. OCTOBER 1940

FOR BROWDER AND FORD—FOR PEACE!

(REVIEW OF THE MONTH)

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VOL. XIX, No. 10 OCTOBER, 1940

THE COMMUNIST

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PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U.S.A.
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REVIEW OF THE MONTH

The Importance of Voting for Browder and Ford. Promotion of the People's Anti-War Front Demands Support of the Communist Party in the Elections. A Decision for Progressive Labor. Who Will Benefit by Anglo-American Deal? Steps to War Intervention and Military Dictatorship. New Imperialist Efforts for Reviving and Corrupting the Labor Aristocracy. Grand Dreams of Empire and Empty Promises. Combat Illusions and Expose Social-Democratism. Stalin's Maxim on Looking Forward and Being Revolutionary. The American Peace Mobilization. To a New Stage in the Struggle for Peace. From Neutrality and Isolationism to Anti-Imperialism and People's Solidarity. The Imperialist Meaning of Western Hemisphere "Defense." Relations With Liberation Struggles in Latin America and China. American Peace Movements Can Advance Only by Supporting the Peace Policies of the Soviet Union. On Keeping America Out of the War and Fighting for a People's Peace.

THE imperialists and war-makers in the United States are seeking desperately to prevent a large Communist vote in the coming elections. It is evident that the ruling imperialist reactionary circles anticipate and fear such a vote. By hook or by crook, they are determined not to let this happen. The order of Judge Knox, which denies the Presidential candidate of the Communist Party the right to present his position to the American people, is thus far the latest step in the reactionary conspiracy to obstruct our Party's election campaign. It may not be the last one.

Evidently, the imperialist war-makers attach great importance to the anti-imperialist and anti-war campaign of the Communist Party. Evidently, they have reasons to believe that our campaign is making headway among the masses of the people. Evidently, too, they have grounds to anticipate *a substantial mass vote* for the Communist candidates in the elections, if the people have the opportunity to cast their votes freely. Evidently, they fear such an outcome. Hence, all these desperate measures to curtail and destroy the opportunity of the masses to vote freely, that is, to vote for the Communist Party if they so desire.

What other explanation is there? If it were true, as the imperialist

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press asserts, that the Communist message of anti-imperialism and of a people's peace finds no echo among the masses, that no substantial mass of the people will vote for the Communist Party, then why all these extra-legal and illegal measures to hamper and obstruct the election activities of this party? Surely, the election activities of the Communist Party are not illegal, and the Party itself is not illegal, even though Congressman Dies & Co. are demanding ever more loudly that our Party be outlawed. Why, then, all these truly *desperate* measures against the Communist election campaign, which measures, though directed against the Communists in the first place, undermine and destroy the fundamental civil liberties of the people? Can we assume that the ruling imperialist circles don't know what they are doing? No, we can make no such assumptions. Even though the reactionaries may not yet know all the consequences of their present deeds, they do know that they are seeking to prevent a substantial mass vote for the Communist Party in the elections and that in doing so they are undermining and destroying the fundamental civil rights of the American people.

And knowing all this, why are they doing it? The answer is to be found largely in two circumstances. It is to be found, first, in the increasing militancy of the American imperialist offensive for conquests abroad and intensified reaction at home; and, secondly, in the growing effectiveness of the Communist Party of the United States as a participant in and *vanguard of* the anti-imperialist and genuine peace movements of the masses of labor and its allies. These facts may not yet be clear to certain sections of the progressive labor movement, but the reactionaries are fully conscious of them. The reactionaries know, and so do the reformist agents in the labor movement, that the Communist Party of the United States is today the *only* political party that is openly, frankly and consistently marching with the masses and at the head of them against the imperialist, reactionary and war offensive of the bourgeoisie. From this circumstance, the reactionaries correctly conclude two things, at least. One is that the Communist Party is bound to register a substantial mass vote in the elections, a substantial anti-imperialist and anti-war vote, if the people's civil liberties are not seriously curtailed, which would present a most convincing refutation of the brazen lie that the American people are "united" behind the imperialists and war-makers. And such an outcome would not make the progress of the imperialist offensive easier; it would certainly make it much harder. The other conclusion is that a substantial mass vote for the Communist Party in the elections would contribute most powerfully to the further *and more rapid* unification of labor and its allies in an anti-imperialist people's front headed by labor, a people's front strong and conscious enough *to check and challenge* the imperialist-reactionary offensive of the bourgeoisie, really to protect the

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standards and liberties of the people, to create the conditions for the coming into power of a true people's government.

All of this, and no less than all of this, is involved in the desperate efforts of the reactionaries to prevent the people from voting Communist, if they so desire.

Labor must see the facts as they are and realize all their far-reaching implications. Only in this way will the American workers and their allies be able to make the right decision and the right choice for the forthcoming national elections.

Certain progressive labor circles still find it difficult to make that choice and decision. And this is understandable. The situation is complicated and is growing more so every day. Through its reformist agents—the Hillmans, Greens, Thomases — the imperialist bourgeoisie continues to confuse and disunite labor's ranks; and through the demagogy of its own spokesmen, the imperialist bourgeoisie is working towards the same end, seeking also to weaken labor's independent ties with other sections of the common people. All this undoubtedly makes the decision and choice on political conduct in the elections more difficult. And, most important, the feeling of certain sections of labor that a Republican victory would be worse for the people than a Democratic one, does not contribute to making the decision of choice any easier.

And yet, accounting fully for all of the foregoing, there is still another circumstance that makes the decision difficult for certain progressive labor circles. It is a circumstance that resides *within themselves*. It is the inability thus far to approach the question from the *class standpoint* of labor, from the standpoint of its *fundamental* interests and those of its allies as distinct from transient and sectional interests. It is the inability thus far to see the present election struggle in its true setting and perspective, to see it *as a crucial stage* in the struggle of the people against imperialism, reaction and war; to see it *as a crucial battle* in the historic fight of the American working class for influence and leadership in the nation, for the defense of the nation, for its liberation from the stranglehold of monopoly and finance capital. It is the inability thus far of seeing the election struggle this year from *this* standpoint that is primarily responsible for the special difficulties experienced by certain sections of progressive labor in making a decision of choice.

We are living at a time of storm and stress, of rapid developments and sharp changes. This alone, if nothing else, should dictate to progressive labor a course of political conduct in the forthcoming elections that is in accord with the class standpoint of labor and its historic revolutionary mission. In order not to make mistakes in policy, said Comrade Stalin, one must look forward, not backward; one must be a revolutionary, not a reformist. What does this mean for the political conduct of American labor in the 1940 elections? It means that the guiding and *determining* considera-

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tion for this conduct resides in the interests and further progress of labor's political independence. It resides in the continued promotion of labor's alliance with and leadership of the common people of America. And this requires of labor, first and foremost, *leadership* of the people against the imperialist and war-making offensive of the bourgeoisie, consistent proletarian opposition to its two political parties. To compromise on that is to compromise labor's fundamental interests; it is to compromise labor's historic struggle for influence and leadership in the nation.

For labor to lead the struggle of the people against the war-making offensive of the imperialist bourgeoisie means that labor itself must systematically develop this struggle. It must strengthen its positions in the industries and solidify its organized ties with the common people.

And as to the election phase of the struggle, labor can use its political power for the election of Congressional, state and local candidates that support the people's anti-imperialist program and to defeat the political spokesmen of imperialism and war. Thus the anti-imperialist people's front under labor's leadership will be built from the ground up.

But this is not all. There remains the question of choice of Presidential candidates. And on this question, resting the decision on labor's class interests and its struggle for leadership in a united people's front, the answer should be evident. It is inescapable. *It is support for the candidates of the Communist Party —Browder and Ford.*

Here is involved primarily not the question of supporting the full program of the Communist Party. Many will do so, of course, in voting the Communist ticket. What is involved here for progressive labor generally is what the imperialists and war-makers particularly fear. It is the registration in the election results of a substantial anti-imperialist and anti-war mass vote; and this can be achieved on a national scale only by voting the Communist ticket. And the other thing involved is *the new and greater opportunities* which such an anti-imperialist mass vote would create *for the more rapid* development of the anti-imperialist people's front, under labor's leadership, following the elections, for the accelerated accumulation of those forces which are necessary *for the creation of a major anti-imperialist party of the people headed by labor.*

Does progressive labor recognize the importance of these two practical objectives—a big and clear national demonstration in the election results against the imperialist war-makers and the creation of new opportunities for the organization of a people's party following the elections? By and large, and with various degrees of clarity, this recognition is evident among all circles of progressive labor. What is not so evident among all is the realization that these immediate class objectives of labor and its allies can be promoted in the elections only by voting for the national candidates of the Communist Party along with supporting candidates of people's

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front formations in the localities and a more intensive development of all forms of mass struggle against the imperialist offensive.

For the real *progress* of labor and its allies, this is the choice; there is at present no other. And at a time in the world's and in our nation's history, when the deepening general crisis of capitalism projects ever more sharply the historic liberating mission of the working class, Stalin's profound maxim on political conduct shines with particular brilliance. In order not to err in policy, one must look forward, not backward; one must be a revolutionary, not a reformist.

* * *

IN THE light of what has happened in the United States during the last several weeks, is there still room for reasonable doubt that the so-called "national" defense drive is a drive for imperialist aggrandizement, war preparations and for the establishment of a reactionary military dictatorship over the American people? No room for doubt at all.

Take the destroyer-bases deal between the United States and England. These exchanges, says Hanson W. Baldwin in *The New York Times:*

". . . were not only symbols of an ever closer Anglo-American rapprochement, but, in the opinion of some observers, sealed what in effect was an unofficial alliance between the English-speaking nations and brought the United States far closer than ever before to entry into the war." (Sept. 8.)

Whatever the exact meaning of this "rapprochement" and "alliance," the deal puts the United States definitely and openly in the position of assisting British imperialism to carry on the war against German and Italian imperialism. This is another step, and a long one, towards entering the war. And this is so obvious that it requires no special comment. But for what purposes and aims is this being done? It is done for the purpose of enriching the finance capitalists in the United States and of extending their world power, their power to exploit and dominate other peoples and countries. It is not done to improve the well being of the American people.

Hillman & Co. want the workers to believe that the deal with Britain was dictated by the needs of Western Hemisphere defense which, in its turn, helps secure the defense of the United States itself. It was also dictated, they say, by the need of helping England "to resist fascism." All of which sounds very plausible, but is it really so?

Undoubtedly the Anglo-American deal tends to stiffen British resistance, and was intended by the American Government to achieve precisely this result. But resistance in what kind of a cause? In a cause which aims to save and preserve for British lords, bankers and big businessmen the power to rob and oppress hundreds of millions of people in the colonial countries; in a cause which aims to save and preserve the power of the same gentry over the English people themselves. What good can it do

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the *American* people to stiffen British resistance in this kind of a cause? No good at all and a good deal of evil. And the evil is already quite tangible. It is the accelerated drive against the economic standards and civil liberties of the masses in the United States which is accompanying these actions of "aid to Britain."

It is also certain that the Anglo-American deal strengthens immeasurably the power of the United States in the "Western Hemisphere." But when we speak of the power of the United States, we must at once ask: *whose* power in the United States? Is it the power of labor, of the working farmers, of the common people generally—of the people, in other words? Or is it the power of Morgan, Rockefeller, Ford, the power of the monopolists and Big Business, the power of the imperialist bourgeoisie? It is evident that whichever class has the power *within* the United States, that class is the beneficiary of the power acquired by this country *outside* of the United States. And which class is it that has the power in the United States? It certainly isn't labor and the common people. It is Big Business and the imperialist bourgeoisie, and these are the ones that have acquired additional power through the acquisition of naval and air bases in the Americas.

We may be told, by Vice Presidential candidate Wallace, for example, that this increased power of the United States will be used for the "defense" of the nation as a whole; that if Roosevelt and Wallace are elected there will be no economic "appeasement" with the dictators, and that the economic benefits accruing to the United States from the increased power will be shared by all of the American people and not only by Big Business. This is, in fact, what Wallace has been saying and what the Hillmans are peddling in the labor movement. And this too sounds plausible, but is it true?

Our answer is: it isn't true. Defense of the nation by the imperialist bourgeoisie of the United States is a contradiction in terms. In the hands of a class bent on imperialist aggrandizement, exploitation and oppression, such as the ruling class of this and all other imperialist countries, *national defense can mean only imperialist aggrandizement abroad and internal reaction at home; and this is true regardless of whether the imperialist bourgeoisie is technically "attacking" another country or "defending" itself from the attacks of others.* And this is not at all the same as saying that "democracies cannot wage war without themselves becoming dictatorships." The latter is a hollow and misleading sophism used by the imperialists themselves on certain occasions. No; what we say is something else altogether. It is that if the power in a democracy is in the hands of a reactionary class, such as the imperialist bourgeoisie, its "national" defense is imperialist aggrandizement, its foreign policies are imperialist, its wars are unjust, its internal course is mounting reaction. Its very "democracy" is, in the last analysis, democracy for itself, for

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the rich and powerful, oppression and discrimination for the masses of the people. On the other hand, if the power in a democracy is in the hands of a progressive class, such as the working class (or in the hands of an alliance of the toiling classes led by the working class), that is, in the hands of the people, then national defense becomes true defense of the nation, foreign policies are progressive, the internal course moves to ever more democracy and more effective forms of democracy; and if war becomes inevitable, as it may in surroundings of reactionary and imperialist regimes bent on destroying progressive and truly democratic regimes, such war is progressive, liberating and just.

Modern history gives us several convincing examples. The wars waged by the Soviet Union in the first years of its existence against the imperialist interventionists were just wars. So was the war of the Spanish Republic against the fascist interventionists assisted by the "democratic non-interventionists." So is the war of the Chinese people against Japanese imperialism.

The reason, therefore, the United States is now in an accelerated process of having a reactionary-military dictatorship imposed upon the people is *not* that "democracies" cannot wage war or prepare for war "without themselves becoming dictatorships." No; that is not the reason. The true reason lies in the fact that the economic and political power within the country is in the hands of a reactionary class, the imperialist bourgeoisie, which follows a course of imperialist aggrandizement and is preparing to wage a predatory war. Internal reaction at home is inseparable from imperialist adventures abroad. Increased power for an imperialist ruling class over foreign countries and peoples means increased power for predatory war. Consequently, the new bases acquired by American imperialism in the Americas are increased opportunities for imperialist adventures and predatory wars, and not for national defense.

But, we are asked, what about Wallace's campaign "against economic appeasement of the dictators"? Doesn't this mean that if Roosevelt and Wallace are victorious in the elections this country will make full use for its own self of the increased economic opportunities which will result from the increased political and military might of the United States in the Americas, in the Far East and in the world at large? Wouldn't labor, the farmers and all working people benefit by the greater prosperity which a more powerful United States will be able to gain?

Our answer is that this sort of a general campaign by Wallace, and in the labor movement by the Hillmans, is an attempt of the imperialists *to bribe and corrupt* certain top layers of labor and of the farmers with *promises* that a successful American imperialism will share its gains with them. This is, of course, not the only meaning of Wallace's "anti-appeasement" campaign. It has many other angles, one of them being an attack on the Republican Party through an ex-

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posure of sections of its Wall Street supporters as champions of Munich-"appeasement." But the angle to which we must pay special attention is the one of imperialist bribery and corruption of the top layers of labor and the farmers by promises of a share in the spoils. This is how labor and its allies among the farmers must view these promises. It is an old trick of the imperialist bourgeoisie everywhere by which it has sought to split the working class, to disunite it from the rest of the common people, to fight and defeat each of the groups of the common people separately, thus hoping to perpetuate capitalist power over all of them.

In this sense, there is nothing new in Wallace's appeals to the imperialist "self-interest" of the American masses. What *is* new, and of great importance, is that these and similar imperialist promises of sharing the spoils are practically worthless even to those to whom these appeals are particularly directed. Nevertheless, the *danger* of such appeals to the progress of the struggle for labor unity and for an anti-imperialist people's front *must not be overlooked or underestimated.*

American imperialism, and its social-reformist flunkeys, are undoubtedly having grand visions of a new American empire, with lots of colonies and dependencies, mounting profits and colonial super-profits, much like the British Empire and a good deal at its expense. Internally, these "visionaries" must also be seeing the rebirth of the old "aristocracy of labor," firmly tied down to the imperialist bourgeoisie and serving loyally as a weapon of the ruling class against the working class and all progressive movements. Just like in "the good old days" of the first thirty years of this century, and even "better." This is the vision which American imperialism—with its Hillmans, Greens and Tobins—is beginning to unfold; and, as we go along, we shall see it ever more clearly. It is the vision of the Roosevelt-Wallace outfit most particularly and of the dominant sections of Social-Democratism; while the Willkie-Hoover outfit, seeing a somewhat different path to "American empire," tends to look for an imperialist mass base in the United States not so much to a "reborn" labor aristocracy and Social-Democratism as to the more special social agglomeration which fascism brings about.

We need not at this moment go into a detailed examination of how much *reality* there is in these imperialist visions, for the sake of which our country has already been brought to the brink of joining the war in Europe, is moving towards war conflicts in the Far East, is preparing to enslave the peoples of Latin America and is having a reactionary dictatorship steadily foisted upon it. Step by step. Such examinations we shall yet have to make. Suffice it for the present to say that the epoch in which we now live is *radically* different from the one in which the British Empire came into existence and that, hence, a repetition by the United States of the British experience is totally

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excluded. In this sense, the visions of the American imperialists and their social-reformist servants are very much visionary. Moreover, the present period is also radically different from the years 1900 to 1917, at which time the United States joined the first world imperialist war, or from 1918 to 1940, when the United States is being pushed to joining the second imperialist war. It is different, among other things, in the sense that, while imperialist aggrandizement by the United States on a large scale is possible so long as the imperialist bourgeoisie retains power, such aggrandizement will require infinitely greater effort than in the past; it will necessitate infinitely sharper and more exhaustive imperialist conflicts and war; it will be accompanied by internal convulsions of the most far-reaching character; and such aggrandizement will be facing uninterrupted and continually mounting revolutionary movements of the colonial and dependent peoples for their freedom and independence.

On this question, discussing the possibility of new colonial empires in general, D. Z. Manuilsky wrote the following:

". . . as the capitalist system becomes more and more dislocated as a result of the further development of the war, the chances of the imperialists creating new, stable colonial empires are becoming more and more doubtful. It is absurd to think that in a Europe shaken by war a new aristocracy of labor of the British, French or American type can spring up anywhere." (*The Communist International*, No. 6, 1940, p. 369.)

It is clear, therefore, that for the masses of labor and the common people generally, the present adventures of American imperialism and its increasing power carry nothing but more suffering, greater insecurity, the imminent danger of war, and the step by step establishment of a reactionary war-time dictatorship. As to the top layers of labor, who are promised by Roosevelt and Wallace a grand share of the imperialist spoils, the result for them is bound to be empty promises and little more than that, even though they may get every now and then miserable crumbs from the master's table. And what little they may get will necessarily be as insecure and unstable as the entire capitalist system. The very base of a labor aristocracy will continue to be extremely narrow and precarious. The period of 1900 to 1930, which the Hillmans, Greens and Tobins are dreaming about, is not going to repeat itself.

Nevertheless, American imperialism and its reformist agents are desperately trying *to sow illusions* among certain sections of labor that they can restore those days. The imperialists and their flunkeys in the labor movement are now making renewed efforts, on the basis of the expanding imperialist offensive of the American ruling class, to revitalize the labor aristocracy, to preserve it, even though on the present narrow basis, and to use it for demoralizing and splitting up the ranks of the working class.

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Working more particularly through Hillman-Green-Tobin, Roosevelt and Wallace are now debauching and exploiting the very idea of labor unity to split the working class further, to reverse the progressive trend in the labor movement and to place the working class under the hegemony of the imperialistically corrupted reformist bureaucracy and aristocracy of labor. This menace must be fully realized and combated systematically.

The American working class has made tremendous strides forward since 1930. It has moved further and ever further on the road of greater class unity, political independence and the establishment of ties with other sections of the toiling population. Especially since the appearance of the C.I.O., with its spreading influence upon large sections of labor in the American Federation of Labor and the railroad unions, and its growing contacts with other progressive movements of the people, American labor has become a significant and important political force in the country. And since the outbreak of the war in September, 1939, progressive labor has well managed to hold its positions on the whole despite the terrific drive of the imperialists and its reformist flunkeys.

While difficulties and complications are piling up daily, and among these the anti-labor conspiracies of the Hillman-Green-Tobin outfit are the most sinister, the mass of the working class and its allies continue to move in a progressive direction. This is a basic and most important fact upon which to carry further the struggle for true working class unity and for the people's front. We must carry forward this fight in the full realization that "the era of dying capitalism is also the era of dying Social-Democratism in the labor movement." (Stalin.) And to make this come true with the least pain and suffering for the masses, progressive labor has to move more rapidly towards a clear and full working class standpoint, towards systematic and irreconcilable struggle with Social-Democratism in all its forms, towards *a higher stage* in its own development.

Speaking of the struggle against reformism in the world labor movement, Manuilsky says:

"Lenin and Stalin also foresaw the inevitable organizational collapse of Social-Democratism in the working class movement. But they taught us that this collapse of Social-Democratism would take place as a result of profound and acute shocks to the capitalist system, that it would take place not as a result of one blow, but of a number of social outbursts, as a result of a persistent, determined, self-sacrificing struggle waged by the Communists against the agents of the class enemy in the working class movement." (*Ibid.*, p. 368.)

The key to the further prosecution of this struggle lies in the further organization and development of the daily activities and struggles of the masses against the reactionary-imperialist offensive of the bourgeoisie. It lies in the systematic enlightenment of the masses that the imperialist gains of the American bourgeoisie are *losses* for the American people. It lies in a

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more class conscious and more consistent proletarian line of conduct by the progressive forces in the American labor movement.

* * *

THE American Peace Mobilization Congress, held in Chicago on August 31-September 2, will undoubtedly mark a significant stage in the anti-war, anti-imperialist and peace struggles of the American people since the outbreak of the war. And as the work begun by that congress is followed up by the organizational and political steps mapped out by the congress, we may see soon an important turning point towards greater unity, consciousness and effectiveness in the great anti-imperialist peace movements of the American people.

Already the American Peace Mobilization has made an important contribution to the anti-war struggle by the activities of its mass delegations to Washington, in the halls of Congress, on behalf of the opposition to conscription. This act is already stimulating the anti-war movements all over the country and, whatever the practical immediate outcome of the anti-conscription fight, it will advance further the struggle of the masses against war, against the reactionary offensive upon the economic standards and political rights of the people, for a true people's peace. The next big practical job is to organize the movement in the localities, the community councils, and the preparations for the American Peace Mobilization Day, for the great national demonstration on November 11, as decided by the Chicago Congress.

Reviewing recent developments at home as well as abroad, it would appear that the struggle of the masses against the reactionary offensive of the imperialists is entering a phase of greater effectiveness and concreteness. And in this the American Peace Mobilization is bound to play an important part.

Consider the practical development of the struggle to keep America out of war as it took place in the last twelve months. At first the anti-war mass movements rallied largely around the slogan of opposition to the revision of the "Neutrality Act." An important fight occurred on this issue between the imperialist camp and the slowly gathering forces of the people's anti-imperialist camp. Line-ups were still fresh and considerably confused and that was one of the reasons for the relatively easy victory of the imperialist "revisionists"; the main reason being the profoundly mistaken but widespread belief that the Allies were waging an "anti-fascist" war and that the "revisionists" in the United States were motivated by nothing but a desire to help the Allies wage this war. There was also the widespread feeling, cultivated among the masses especially by Roosevelt, that revising the "Neutrality Act" was a step for keeping America out of war, instead of what it really was—a step in the direction of involvement.

The revision of the "Neutrality Act," and the transformation of the United States into an arsenal for the Allies, was accompanied by a

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growing wave of reaction in the country, by a series of attacks on the civil liberties and economic standards of the masses. Labor at once sensed the connection between the imperialist line of "helping the Allies," which meant helping American Big Business to make war profits, and the reactionary campaign against labor and all progressive forces at home. And labor—progressive labor—began to assume the initiative in the struggle to keep America out of war and to preserve the rights and standards of the masses.

During several months of these struggles, and while no important changes were taking place in the course of the imperialist war in Europe, the fight for keeping America out of war was steadily gaining general support among the masses. But there were two main weaknesses present in the situation. One was a lack of unity in the anti-war movement, a lack of a united national center, which could not of course be created by merely wishing for it but had to arise at a more mature stage of development. The other was an insufficiency of concrete struggles against the specific imperialist policies and acts of the American bourgeoisie and of the Government. In fact an illusion was widespread that the imperialists in the United States were dragging this country into the war, not because they sought to aggrandize themselves, but for purely "idealistic" considerations; only because they wanted "to help" England and France, "the democracies," to resist fascism. There was very insufficient realization among the peace movements that what they were fighting against was "our own" imperialism, the imperialist offensive at home and abroad of *American* finance capital and of the *American* bourgeoisie. And the social-reformists, Hillman & Co., did their utmost to keep the masses confused on this crucial point. As a result, the peace movements were beginning to get into a condition of simply marking time and standing in one place, while the imperialist-reactionary offensive was moving forward with increasing momentum.

With the abrupt flare-up of large-scale hostilities on the battlefronts in Europe, with the rapid extension of the war to the Scandinavian countries, then to Holland and Belgium and finally to France, and while the final outcome of these battles, especially the one in France, was still uncertain, the peace movements were not showing any particular growth in mass struggles. But the political consciousness of the more advanced sections was definitely on the increase. At the same time, there were noticeable among wider masses the rise of two contradictory moods cultivated by various groups in the camp of the imperialists. One was a feeling that nothing the peace movements can do will keep America out of war if the war lasts long enough; a sort of fatalism. The other was that perhaps the danger of American involvement isn't so great, after all, and that therefore there is not very much that the peace movements have to do on this score. Naturally, both of these moods contributed

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towards a certain measure of passivity among the wider masses.

The defeat of France and the new condition of England, which resulted here in the big imperialist push for "national" defense (staggering militarization, an imperialist offensive in the "Western Hemisphere," more aid to England, and mounting reactionary attacks on the masses of the American people), have produced several important effects upon the American peace movements. Among the wider and less politically mature masses, a feeling of anxiety was spreading about the national security of the country, coupled with a distinct suspicion that the imperialist ruling circles are exploiting the situation to attack the rights and standards of the masses. These wide masses clearly felt themselves, and still do, to be in a quandary: how to take care of national defense without helping the imperialists and reactionaries to tighten their grip upon the people. And this kind of feeling does not *by itself* contribute to activizing the anti-imperialist struggles of the masses. To transform these moods of the wider masses into active struggle against the imperialist offensive requires anti-imperialist enlightenment, organization and practical leadership of daily struggles on specific issues and demands. And here is where the American Peace Mobilization is called upon to play an important role.

At the same time, this "national" defense drive, especially its latest phase of conscription and the Anglo-American deal, have definitely tended to make the more advanced sections of the mass peace movements more conscious of the meaning of *American imperialism*, of its predatory policies abroad and menacing reaction at home, and more determined to unite and struggle against it. The American Peace Mobilization rose on the wave of this growing anti-imperialist consciousness and determination. It rose under the influence and with the leading participation of the progressive forces of organized labor collaborating with the advanced movements among the American youth, the toiling farmers, the Negroes, and in contact with movements less mature but developing. And in this, plus the favorable though contradictory moods among the wider masses, lies the guarantee of its growth and success.

Through these twelve months under review, the American peace movements have undergone certain developments and changes also with respect to the role and position of the Soviet Union.

To begin with, it is perfectly safe to say that imperialist reaction and its reformist servants have not succeeded among the basic sections of the peace movements in their attempts to misinterpret and misrepresent the true role and position of the Soviet Union. The big drives of incitement against the socialist state following the conclusion of the Soviet-German Pact and later during the struggle against the Finnish White Guards, have on the whole failed miserably and disgracefully, although at the time of the events a certain measure of temporary

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and transient confusion did appear among various elements. And this is a most gratifying and important fact for the future and success of the peace struggles in the United States.

It must be remembered that through a long number of years, the American people have learned, by the deeds of the Soviet Union, that it is in fact the strongest force for peace, progress and socialism. And no amount of slander and misrepresentation, spread by the imperialist press on the Soviet-German Pact and on the struggle against the imperialist conspiracies in Finland, could wipe out the true knowledge about the Soviet Union gained by the American masses. What the imperialist slanders succeeded in doing, for a short while and among certain elements, was to confuse, and thus weaken in a measure more widespread and effective anti-imperialist struggles. But as the truth began to break through, and especially as the further successful unfoldment of the Soviet Union's peace policies began to reach the masses (the maintenance of peace in Eastern Europe, the successful destruction of the imperialist nest in Finland, the historic acts of liberation in parts of former Poland, Bessarabia, the three Baltic States), demonstrating the power and consistency of the independent socialist peace policy, momentary confusions and vacillations began to disappear and a more conscious, more determined support of these policies has been making its way among wide masses.

Not only is there now a better understanding of and sympathy for the peace policies of the Soviet Union among wide masses, but also a growing realization that these policies are of tremendous benefit to the anti-imperialist peace struggles of the American people. The trend is towards active support for these policies as a basic essential of a practical and successful struggle in the United States against the imperialists and war-makers. The realization is growing that no anti-imperialist program of national defense can make real headway and succeed unless it is inextricably interwoven with active support of and collaboration with the peace policies of the Soviet Union.

Yet the further and more rapid development of these trends among still wider masses in the peace movements is meeting serious obstacles, and these must be overcome and removed. One obstacle arises from the slanderous and misleading campaign of bourgeois-democrats and social-reformists that the Soviet Union is "the same kind of a dictatorship" as fascism and that adherence to "democracy" demands "opposition to all dictatorships." The purpose of this thoroughly reactionary and anti-democratic campaign at the present time is threefold. It aims to devitalize and cripple the anti-imperialist peace movements of the masses by preventing them from supporting and collaborating with the peace policies of the Soviet Union, something without which the peace struggle cannot succeed. It aims to hide from the masses the fact that the bourgeois-democratic form of the exist-

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ing class dictatorship of the exploiters is giving way to more open forms of such dictatorship under the impact of the imperialist reactionary drive. For the plain fact is, that while talking about opposition "to all dictatorships," the ruling powers in the United States are curtailing and destroying the people's rights step by step. And, finally, it seeks to hide from the masses the great truth that the socialist democracy of the Soviet Union is the only genuine and true democracy of the people, a truth which the imperialists and their social-reformist flunkeys find it ever more difficult to hide or distort.

* * *

FROM the foregoing several practical conclusions have to be made for the further progress of the anti-imperialist peace struggles, for making these struggles *more* effective.

1. It is possible now to proceed more rapidly with the task of raising the *anti-imperialist consciousness* of the peace movements, with the task of directing their struggles more specifically against the predatory adventures of *American* imperialism and, most particularly, against Wall Street's imperialist adventures in the so-called "Western Hemisphere"—the drive for the enslavement of Latin America, the "joint defense" of Canada, the acquisition of military bases and the entire offensive of war preparations. It should be clear by now to the advanced sections of the peace movements that the so-called Western Hemisphere "defense" is nothing else but a drive for imperialist aggrandizement, for the robbery and exploitation of other peoples, for strategic advantages in the fight of American imperialism for world power. It is the road to imperialist war; and one cannot fight effectively for keeping America out of war without combating Wall Street's imperialist adventures in the Americas in the same way in which the peace movements are combating conscription, militarization, internal reaction generally, all of which is parading in the guise of "national" defense.

2. Closer relations of support and collaboration have to be developed between the peace movements in the United States and the democratic liberation struggles of the Latin American peoples as well as with the great Chinese people. It must be firmly kept in mind that the "Good Neighbor" policy of the Administration has become nothing else but a cloak for predatory imperialism and militant aggression. To expose this fact before the masses and to render active support to the anti-imperialist movements in Latin America, this has become a major task of the peace movements in the United States. One cannot effectively fight the imperialists and war-makers in the United States without supporting the anti-imperialist liberation movements in the Americas, without systematically supporting the heroic liberation struggle of the Chinese people.

3. Active support to the peace policies of the Soviet Union has

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become an absolute imperative for the further successful development of the anti-imperialist peace struggles of the American people. It is no exaggeration to say that a point has been reached where a large-scale advance of the peace movements in the United States, an advance of substantial practical effectiveness, can be achieved and secured *only* by making support for the policies of the Soviet Union an organic and inseparable part of the daily peace struggles of the American people. It is equally no exaggeration to say that every time a section of the peace movements allows itself to be intimidated by the war-makers and their reformist agents into dropping support for the peace policies of the Soviet Union or into condemning it "the same as all dictatorships," whenever such a thing happens—a veritable body blow is delivered at the true national interests of the American people, a blow against the progress and success of the peace movements in the United States. The conclusion is, especially for the advanced detachments of the peace movements, *not to allow themselves to be intimidated* but to take their position to the wide masses and win them for support and collaboration with the peace policies of the Soviet Union.

4. The fight to keep America out of war, and this slogan itself, continues to be the basis of every genuine peace movement in the country. At the same time, it should be realized, that *the positive struggle for a true people's peace has assumed greater and more concrete importance for the American people.* For in a sense, in a certain special sense, the imperialists of the United States have already placed this country in the position of a war participant. American imperialism as such, and not just private business, is today openly supporting the war of British imperialism against German and Italian imperialism. It is true that the Anglo-American imperialist rivalries and contradictions continue to operate and affect the policies of "our own" imperialists but *for the present* they see in German imperialism their most dangerous rival and competitor. Hence, they have pushed the United States into supporting openly the war of British imperialism, to participate in the war, while exploiting the weakened position of the same British imperialism to aggrandize *themselves* and at its expense.

Since this is the new situation, arising most directly from the collapse of France, it is clear that the struggle for a people's peace has assumed *more practical and concrete meaning* for the American people and its peace movements. The fight for a people's peace concerns us now more directly and intimately than before. At the same time, the danger of an imperialist "peace" of robbery and oppression, the danger of a "peace" of violence and annexations and indemnities and national oppression, this danger has also become more direct and immediate. It has become so due to the course of the war in Europe and its world repercussions: the strengthening of the German side and the weakening of the British side, the continuation by the

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British ruling circles of a predatory war for world power, the extension and greater activization of American imperialism, the intensification of imperialist reaction in the internal life of all capitalist countries, the fear of the bourgeoisie for the accumulating mass resentment, and the fresh development of Munich-"appeasement" tendencies among various imperialist circles. Above all, this danger of a "peace" of violence and oppression arises in the present world situation from the major fact that the imperialist bourgeoisie will *betray* its own nation into the hands of foreign conquerors and imperialists rather than *let the masses of the people headed* by labor *save* the nation in their own way, by a true people's peace and by the establishment of a true people's government.

The danger of a "peace" of violence and oppression touches us today directly and intimately. It is no longer just so that a true people's peace will be good for the American people because it will be good for the world as a whole. In the present situation, a true people's peace in the world as a whole is a *practical necessity* for the American people as well as for all other peoples and nations.

Lastly, we must take serious note of the efforts of the Munich-"appeasers" in the United States, those willing to underwrite a "peace" of violence and oppression, to parade as supporters of real peace, as opponents of war, thus seeking to demoralize the genuine peace movements of the American people and to attach them to reactionary Big Business pro-fascist interests. *This is a real danger to the peace movements which has to be systematically exposed and combated* in the very process of struggle against the war-making offensive of the imperialist interventionists and so-called "anti-appeasers."

The conclusion from the foregoing is the following: as the peace movements continue and intensify the struggle for keeping America out of war and for a true anti-imperialist policy of national defense (as against the drive of the imperialist bourgeoisie for aggrandizement abroad and a military dictatorship at home), this must be done *hand in hand with* the struggle *for a genuine people's peace and against an imperialist "peace" of violence and oppression.* And this requires collaboration with and support of the anti-imperialist people's movements everywhere and—most particularly—true friendship with the Soviet Union and active support for its peace policies.

Only by making these major conclusions and translating them into the practice of every everyday work, by continuing to link up the fight for peace with the fight for the protection of the economic standards and political rights of the masses, will the peace movements in the United States move on rapidly and effectively to their goals and objectives which are the goals and objectives of the American people.

A. B.

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THE MOST PECULIAR ELECTION CAMPAIGN IN THE HISTORY OF THE REPUBLIC

BY EARL BROWDER

(This speech was delivered on September 8 by electrical transcription at the Olympic Auditorium, Los Angeles. This is the address which the Roosevelt Administration tried to stop through the action of Federal Judge Knox prohibiting Earl Browder, Presidential candidate of the Communist Party, from leaving New York State to conduct his campaign tour.)

FRIENDS and fellow Americans: Our country is supposed to be going through that supreme process of American democracy, the election of a President. But this is the most peculiar election campaign in the history of our republic. An illuminating aspect of this peculiar character is the nature of this, my speech, and its manner of delivery to you. I am forced to speak to you through a phonograph disc, because a Federal judge, Mr. Knox by name, granted the demand made by the representative of another candidate, Mr. Roosevelt by name, that I should be forbidden to travel over the country to make speeches for my own candidacy and party and against Mr. Roosevelt's candidacy and party. I was threatened with immediate imprisonment if I should dare to come to the Pacific Coast to speak to you in this election campaign. Therefore I am forced to speak in this unusual fashion, which is unsatisfactory, but at least serves to point a moral.

Judge Knox, in granting Roosevelt an order to silence a rival candidate, used as an excuse that I have been convicted of a crime, in a case which is now before the Supreme Court. But neither he nor the newspapers will tell you, although it is a fact they well know, that the Roosevelt Administration was more than willing to forget that supposed crime, as the Hoover Administration had done in 1930, if I and my Party would only continue to support Roosevelt in 1940 as we had done in 1936, 1937 and 1938. They used the charge against me as political blackmail. They thought they could whip the Communist Party into line, in spite of their war policies, in spite of conscription, in spite of their Sherman Act prosecutions of the trade unions, in spite of the scuttling of the New Deal, in spite of their renewed alliance with the "economic royalists."

They thought they could handle

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the Communist Party as they handle Tammany in New York, or the Kelley machine in Chicago, or the Hague machine in New Jersey. But they made two mistakes: first, they had no charges against the Communist Party or myself involving moral turpitude, or any damage to individuals or government, as they have been forced to admit officially, nothing in fact like the reeking record of the men who renominated Roosevelt in Chicago at the Democratic Convention, and nothing of which we are ashamed; and, secondly, the Communist Party cannot under any circumstances be blackmailed or coerced into the slightest support, direct or indirect, of policies or candidates against the interests of the working people who make up a great majority of America. Now, realizing its mistakes, the Roosevelt Administration is as viciously hostile to the Communist Party as formerly it was friendly and helpful to us when it needed and received our help. *But we are the same Party; it is not we who have changed, but rather the Roosevelt Administration.*

"America's First Dictator"

Roosevelt's agent, Knox, said the Government could not allow me to travel over the country because I had been convicted of a crime in traveling under my own name after I had, years ago, traveled under assumed names in Europe and Asia as a protective measure, for reasons of safety. But the same courts, and the same Roosevelt Administration, freely grant permission to travel anywhere, to real criminals under appeal, such as Judge Manton who for years sold to the highest bidder the decisions of the Federal Courts of New York and elsewhere, such as Moe Annenberg, the multi-millionaire racketeer Republican whose financial connections with the Democratic machines of New Jersey and Chicago are matters of public gossip. In fact, it is a settled policy of the Government to permit free movement of persons under bail pending appeal; but in my case, the Roosevelt Administration openly excuses its unprecedented action by a political argument, saying it is because I and my Party "propose to change the form of government of the United States," and for this reason do not deserve the consideration given to common criminals.

But who is really changing the form of government of the United States? It is the Roosevelt Administration, under the direct leadership of the President himself. They have been deliberately violating the election laws and the Constitution itself, throwing the Communist Party and other minor parties off the ballot in state after state, in order to steal Communist votes they may need to win the elections, and in order more effectively to silence our voices. And it was the President himself who, on September 3, openly stepped outside the Constitution, assumed the powers of an unlimited military dictator, committed the United States to a military alliance with Great Britain and participation in the second imperialist war—all without even the formality of submitting the issue to Congress,

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which under the Constitution alone holds the power of making alliances and deciding questions of war and peace. Even such a sober and conservative newspaper as the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* opened its editorial judgment on these steps with these words: "Mr. Roosevelt today committed an act of war. He also became America's first dictator."

And concludes that:

"And all this is done in utmost contempt of democratic processes and of the Constitution of the United States.

"If this secretly negotiated deal goes through, the fat is in the fire and we all may as well get ready for a full-dress participation in the European war.

"If Roosevelt gets away with this, we may as well say good-bye to our liberties and make up our mind that henceforth we live under a dictatorship.

"If Congress and the people do not rise in solemn wrath to stop Roosevelt now—at this moment—then the country deserves the stupendous tragedy that looms right around the corner."

This is the Roosevelt whose agents cry about the Communist Party, that it must be denied electoral rights, and even outlawed, because forsooth "it proposes to change the form of government of the United States!"

With a Congress which permits, and even invites, such a peremptory shearing of its constitutional powers, which cannot even protest when on the question of war it is placed in the position of a Hitler Reichstag, we must not be surprised that the new Roosevelt dictatorship proceeds roughly and crudely to deprive individuals and minority parties of all political rights. The suppression of the Communist Party is a necessary and important part of the gigantic conspiracy effectively to disfranchise the majority of the American people. Last October, when Roosevelt, speaking to the newspapers through a "close friend," threatened me with legal action to stop my public speaking, most people thought we exaggerated when we said that threat opened a drive into war and military dictatorship for America. Now the facts are clear for everyone. Every nation that has lost its liberties started on the downward path with the act of suppressing the Communists. Roosevelt is following the Hitler formula with scientific exactitude.

It is not only the Communists who are being disfranchised in 1940. The New Deal masses and the labor movement are left politically homeless. The Republicans are worse off than we, for they have not even a candidate to fight for; they must either vote for a Democrat, or turn to the Communists. The leading and natural candidate of the Republican Party was Robert A. Taft. But he was defeated in the Philadelphia Convention, and the *pro-war, big business, renegade Democrat Wendell Willkie, was nominated by a conspiratorial junta, organized by Thomas W. Lamont of the firm of J. P. Morgan, working in direct agreement with Roosevelt, and engineered by Walter Lippmann. Willkie was chosen for the Republican Party by Roosevelt and La-*

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mont, after an agreement had been reached as to fundamental policy to which all would adhere, the same policy revealed in the President's sensational coup of September 3.

Willkie's nomination was the guarantee which Roosevelt required before he dared to launch his coup d'etat. The masses, the majority of the voters, had to be disarmed, denied every opportunity of effective protest, before the President dared to proclaim the joining of the United States into the British Empire. Even now, with the elections effectively blocked off from the people, Roosevelt dares not submit his secretly matured plans to a vote of Congress, but must act by proclamation, by edict, by a coup d'etat.

In its cunning trickery, in its cynical betrayals, in the personal character of its leading participants, the Roosevelt coup d'etat is in the historical tradition of Louis Napoleon; in its social significance for today, it is a flagrant adaptation of the technique of Adolf Hitler; in its consequences for the American people it is a catastrophe expressing the most profound and violent crisis of the capitalist world.

Imagine, for one moment, what would be the reactions of the great body of American voters to the Roosevelt coup, if the Republican Party had nominated as its candidate Senator Robert A. Taft, that old-fashioned conservative Republican who voted against the Conscription Law! Can anyone doubt that the result would have been such a Republican landslide that it would have wrecked the Democratic Party for all time? In that comparison, you get the full significance of the Willkie candidacy, which can be understood only as preparation for the Roosevelt coup. Even with this set-up, Willkie is hard-pressed with the danger that the masses may transform his formal opposition to Roosevelt into a channel for expression of their deep abhorrence of the war and conscription, their deep disgust with Roosevelt's machinations, and to prevent this he is reducing his campaign to a hollow mockery, which only with difficulty can win a headline in the newspapers pledged to his election.

This is the political set-up for the 1940 Presidential elections, which brings the decisive leaders and controlling forces of both Democratic and Republican parties to look upon the Communist Party, despite its small numbers and meagre resources, as a major danger to their joint aims; this is what unites them in the vicious efforts to drive the Communist Party off the ballot and to suppress its activities, to silence its voice. With both major parties united in thwarting the will of the vast majority of the people, they sense the danger and the possibility that millions of voters could, given the opportunity, cast votes of protest for the only party that clearly denounces their conspiracy of war and reaction, and which gives practical alternative policies—the Communist Party.

The "Fifth Column" Camouflage

To cover up their real fears of the workers, of the majority of the people, the Democratic-Republican

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coalition justifies its persecution of the Communist Party by a wild newspaper campaign branding us as part of a "Fifth Column" of the enemies of the country. That also has the aim to hide the operations of the real Fifth Column, which in every country has been proved to have its head and motive force in the upper classes, and among the workers has only degenerated Socialist leaders, Trotskyites, and such-like riff-raff. Such real Fifth Column elements are flooding into the United States now; they seem to have little difficulty in obtaining visas or in operating freely when here. We even see U. S. naval vessels bringing their choicest specimens to our shores. We are entitled to begin asking some questions about this real Fifth Column in America, and to inquire what sort of new surprises they are hatching up for the American people in collaboration with our native reactionaries.

For example, rumor has it that the United States is now host to a certain distinguished Frenchman, a big industrialist and close personal friend of Marshal Petain, head of the French government of capitulation to Hitler. This visitor to our shores is head of a great French trust which up until June of this year was furnishing Germany with essential materials for her airplane production, the supply never ceasing, for in June the Germans came in and took direct possession. This distinguished Frenchman was considered important enough to receive the personal attention of a select group of big bankers, and a special visit from Mr. Stettinius, after which, rumor has it, he is on a tour of inspection of American armaments and armament industries. Many newspaper men are wondering why they received strict instructions not to report or comment upon this gentleman's arrival in this country, or his activities since his arrival. He is evidently a person of mysteriously great importance. His presence here doubtless indicates some possible new surprises in the unpredictable international situation, which may not be altogether agreeable to the American people. The President has called upon the public to report the activities of suspicious persons, possibly Fifth Columnists; may we presume to suggest that the mystery that surrounds this peculiar visitor should be dispelled for the general public? Not to mention, in this connection, the horde of British agents, of whom only Sir George Paish received dishonorable mention in the Senate.

Wall Street's Real Aim

The mystery that surrounds these high-placed Fifth Columnist visitors is equalled by the mystery of aims that guide the White House. Where is our country being headed? Roosevelt has been less than frank with the country, ever since he proclaimed neutrality last September and then systematically proceeded to break down that neutrality. But not all high sources are so evasive about the future perspective. Allow me to quote some little known declarations from those "in the know."

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The *Army and Navy Journal*, of August 24, declares:

"The inevitable conclusion to be drawn from these developments is that the United States has moved to the point where it is committed to assist the British Empire in the war against Germany. . . . Only the blind can fail to see that the United States is rapidly moving toward participation in the world struggle . . . [for] an Empire greater than any which history has ever known."

That is the bald and unadorned truth underlying the sickening propaganda about the defense of democracy and civilization. Wall Street is on the march toward "an Empire greater than any which history has ever known."

Roosevelt is leading the march, and scattering the wreck of even the limited democracy of the American Constitution along the way. Willkie is his first assistant in the conspiracy against the well being and very lives of the common people.

Of all organized political bodies in the United States, only the Communist Party exposes and combats this gigantic imperialist counter-revolution. That is why Roosevelt and Willkie, and all their helpers, are determined to crush the Communist Party first of all. That is why Oscar Wheeler, a West Virginia farmer, was sent to prison for fifteen years for the crime of soliciting signatures to put the Communist Party on the ballot. That is why the Communist candidate for President was sentenced to prison on an ancient and trumped-up technical charge, and is now refused the right to travel to address your meeting, although the case is before the Supreme Court. That is why the hysteria against the foreign born workers, and against the labor movement which opposes conscription, is being whipped up to a typical fascist fury. But that is also why the great majority of the American people, regardless of their opinions about a future socialism or communism for America, must rally to the defense of the Communist Party as the only way they can fight for their own rights and aspirations in 1940. Only the Communist Party provides the opportunity in the 1940 elections to register the sentiments of the people against the imperialist conspiracies, against the war policies, against the black reaction that has risen to power in the Roosevelt dictatorship.

The economic royalists and their servants are riding high, and gleefully congratulate themselves that the masses have been hog-tied, that nothing can now spoil their plans for a great imperialist speculation with the blood and lives of the American people. But the fight is only begun. Notwithstanding all difficulties and hardships, the American people cannot forever be tricked, bulldozed and suppressed. They are fighting back with increasing numbers, energy, intelligence and determination. And the final victory will belong to the people.

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THE TRADE UNIONS AND THE WAR

BY WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

FOR the second time within one generation, the great bankers, industrialists and landowners have plunged humanity into a devastating world war. These capitalist exploiters, who dominate every great government except that of the Soviet Union, are criminally responsible for the brutal slaughter, and their cold-blooded aim is to redivide the world among themselves for their own profit.

Eager for their share of the war loot, the Wall Street imperialists, who control the United States Government, the two major parties, the press, the radio, and the other chief means of shaping public opinion, are working feverishly to force this country into the war. Day by day, they are deliberately bringing us closer to the precipice. The overwhelming majority of the people of the United States, like the masses of all other lands, want peace and are opposed to the war. But unless they can find a way, swiftly and effectively, to make their will prevail this country will be soon plunged into the conflict by the Roosevelt Government, aided by the Republicans.

Organized Labor's Responsibility in the War

The workers must necessarily give the peace-loving masses of the people leadership in their fight for peace. This means that, inasmuch as in the United States neither the Communist Party nor Farmer-Labor Party is strong enough to secure the allegiance of the decisive sections of the working class, the chief burden of mass leadership in this crisis devolves upon the trade unions. Their armies of members have gigantic potential strength; they occupy key positions in industry and politics; the farmers, professionals and other democratic elements would follow their militant peace lead. No American Government could force the country into war in face of the opposition of a great and determined people's peace movement headed by the trade unions. In this critical moment of history, therefore, the trade unions bear the great responsibility of leading the fight of the masses to keep the United States out of the war, to help establish a democratic peace, and so to reorganize society, on socialist foundations, as to make forever impossible a recurrence of such war slaughter.

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During the first World War the trade unions of the United States and Europe bore a similar responsibility. But they failed to live up to it. Instead they followed the capitalists rights into the war. This was because the unions were dominated by Social-Democratic and Gompersite leaders who were tools of the war-making imperialists. Only in Russia did the trade unions, led politically by the Bolsheviks, increasingly fight against the war and help put an end to the capitalist system responsible for it.

During the present war the American trade unions must not fail in their fundamental responsibility to combat the war. They must not allow the employers, capitalist politicians and reactionary union leaders to drag the United States into the conflict. With the masses of the people behind them, they can put a halt to the whole murderous business of getting this country into the insane slaughter. They can become a powerful force for world peace. Should the unions fail in this historic task, the American people will pay for it in blood and tears. And, after the war, the unions will face a life-and-death struggle for existence. For in this war the employers of the world, those of the United States included, besides butchering countless thousands of toilers, are aiming at setting up a system of fascist tyranny and exploitation such as mankind has never before experienced.

The toiling masses in this country are much better able to fight against the warmongers now than they were a generation ago. They realize the futility of the 1917 war "to make the world safe for democracy," and they have come to see through the demagogic tricks that were used to plunge the United States into that war. Moreover, the trade union movement is much larger and politically more mature. Its membership has increased from 2,500,000 in 1917 to 9,000,000 in 1940; it has registered significant victories, and its leadership, at least in the C.I.O., has become more progressive. And, lastly, today the workers have a strong Communist Party politically to lead their fight, instead of the flabby and opportunistic Socialist Party of the first World War period.

During this first year of the present war the trade unions, in spite of many shortcomings in the leadership, have waged a more effective struggle to keep America out of the bloodbath than they did prior to the World War. Many unions, both in the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O., have spoken out categorically against American war participation. They have also vigorously condemned conscription. But the unions are still falling very short of fulfilling the peace tasks thrust upon them by history. Consequently the warmongers are rapidly pushing this country into the war maelstrom. Only a portion of the trade union leadership—the Lewis group in the C.I.O. and Whitney among the railroad unions—is waging a struggle to halt America's entry into the war, whereas the most powerful sections of the trade union leadership—the A. F. of L. officials, the Railroad Brotherhood

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chiefs, and the strong Hillman group in the C.I.O., officially controlling at least 75 per cent of all trade unions—are following an orientation which leads to war as surely as Gompers' policy did during the last great war.

The fight of organized labor against the war needs to be vastly intensified. The pro-war policy of the Green-Hillman leaders must be offset by rank-and-file anti-war pressure, and the policy of the Lewis group must be clarified and strengthened. The purpose of this article is to indicate the principal respects in which the peace policy of the trade unions needs improvement.

The War's Origin and Objectives

The first consideration for an effective anti-war policy is to understand the basic causes of the present war and the war aims of the various powers. This war, like that of 1914-18 of which it is the continuation, originates in the very nature of the capitalist system. It is the inevitable result of the private ownership of the industries and the land, with the consequent ever-sharpening struggle between rival capitalist nations for new markets, fresh sources of raw materials, additional territories, and more masses of cheap labor to exploit. It is an unjust war, an *imperialist war, a brutal struggle* among the capitalist states to redivide the earth for their own profit. All the capitalist powers, including the United States, are guilty of causing the war. The recurrent world wars, together with the ever-deepening economic crisis, growth of mass unemployment, and upspringing of fascism, are basic indications that the world capitalist system, now in its period of monopoly and imperialism, has lost its expansive power, and is in decay and in the grip of general crisis.

The top leadership of the American trade union movement fail to realize these basic causes of the war. Open defenders of capitalism, they do not understand the war as an expression of the deepest workings of the capitalist system and of the decay of that system. Instead, they satisfy themselves with various false explanations for the war set afloat by the capitalist forces themselves. Consequently their policy towards the war cannot have a sound basis. They are bound to go trailing after the capitalists into the war, and that is precisely what they are doing.

Not understanding the basic causes of the war, the trade union leaders also do not comprehend the true objectives of the struggling capitalist powers. Instead, they fit themselves into the war aims of the ruling imperialist bourgeoisie and re-echo its demagogic slogans among the workers. Thus when the A. F. of L. heads, the Hillman group in the C.I.O. and the railroad union leaders declare that Great Britain is fighting for democracy and that we should give it "all possible aid short of war," they are simply voicing the war program of American imperialism. The truth is that England is not fighting for democracy, nor will the United States do so if it enters the war.

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Both powers are seeking imperialist domination of the world, and regardless of which side should win the war would surely try to establish fascism as widely as possible, in an effort to hold the decaying capitalist system together. A. F. of L. and other trade union leaders who accept Great Britain's cause as a fight for democracy are, notwithstanding their pacifist declarations, giving American imperialism a green light to go to war whenever it sees fit to do so. They are repeating Gompers' 1917 betrayal of the workers.

John L. Lewis, in classing the war as a "barbaric orgy of conquest and aggression" and in declaring that "Labor wants no war nor any part of it" (C.I.O. San Francisco convention), has taken the most advanced stand of any decisive American trade union official regarding the war and has stimulated the anti-war movement. But grave weaknesses in his position are his failures to work out a clear statement of the real causes of the war and to develop an active campaign to liquidate the widespread and dangerous illusions among the masses to the effect that Great Britain, and its non-belligerent ally, the United States, are defending world democracy. These errors, if uncorrected, can lead to disaster for the peace struggle of the masses. The outstanding need of the American trade union movement, therefore, is a clear-cut analysis of the war and its objectives. Such an analysis, in its basic content, can only be found in the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

"National Defense" and "National Unity"

When the Wall Street capitalists forced the United States into the last great war they did it under slogans of "national defense" and "national unity." With the pretext of "national defense" they deliberately took step after step into the war, and, with the deceptive cry of "national unity," they subordinated the labor movement to the domination of the warlike capitalist government. They are now trying to repeat this process.

The means being employed by Wall Street to drag the United States into the present war are strikingly similar to those used to involve us in the first World War. Now, as then, there is a "liberal" government in power, and under hypocritical protestations of neutrality it is taking one warlike step after another. In 1940, as in 1916, a national election is being fought out around innocent-sounding pacifist slogans, while both parties are obviously determined to take us into the war after the elections, if not before. In 1917, the war-makers set up the Council of National Defense, dominated by Big Business men, to organize their saturnalia of profiteering, and now they have established its successor, the National Advisory Defense Commission, with such men as Knudsen of General Motors and Stettinius of U. S. Steel, controlling it. In 1917, too, they had an Advisory Commission of the National Defense Council, with Samuel Gompers heading it, for the purpose of par-

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alyzing the workers' opposition to the war; and now, with the same reactionary objective, they have launched the Labor Policy Advisory Committee, led by the Social-Democrat, Sidney Hillman.

Obviously a first condition for the trade unions in order to defeat this deliberate attempt to get them behind the war that Wall Street is organizing is to expose the whole "national defense" and "national unity" demagogy of the Roosevelt Administration and of the capitalists generally. The widespread confusion among the masses on these two issues make such an exposure imperatively necessary. Labor should stand on the ground that our present Government is aggressive, imperialist, and that, regardless of the huge armaments it may build up, it cannot and will not defend the peace and democracy of the American people, but will sacrifice them. The trade unions should counterpose to the imperialists' false slogans of "national defense" and "national unity" the workers' slogan of a democratic people's government as the only true means for genuine national unity and national defense. Organized labor should lend no official sanction to the present war preparations, misnamed the national defense program, nor should it participate in such labor traps as Hillman's Labor Policy Advisory Commission.

Unfortunately, however, the most decisive sections of the trade union leadership—A. F. of L., Railroad Brotherhoods, and the Hillman wing of the C.I.O.—are swallowing whole the "national defense," "national unity" hypocrisy of the capitalists. They are blessing the warlike policy of the government as neutral and self-defensive; they are propagandizing the workers, in labor phrases, with every war slogan of the bourgeoisie; they are supporting all steps being taken by the Government towards war; they have linked up their unions with the Government's war boards. In short, they are attempting to chain the trade union movement to American imperialism's war juggernaut, even as Gompers did in 1917.

The strong isolationist trend of the Lewis leadership in the C.I.O., and to some extent that of President Whitney in the Railroad Trainmen, has tended to slow up the Government's aggressive war policy. These forces have made it more difficult for the Government to move towards war in its foreign policy and also for the capitalists to force through their ruthless policy of lowering working class living, working and civic standards in this country. Basic errors in Lewis' and Whitney's position, however, are that these leaders have not exposed the imperialist and aggressive character of the Government's so-called program of national defense and its tricky "national unity" war labor boards, the only purposes of which are to reduce the workers' standards and to defeat their demand for peace.

Labor's Attitude Towards Roosevelt's Foreign Policy

The Roosevelt Administration has been increasingly following a for-

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eign policy, dictated by the interests of American imperialism, which contributed greatly to the outbreak of the war and which is daily dragging this country closer to the war abyss. Among the major aspects of this warlike foreign policy were (a) the refusal to support the Soviet Union's proposal for an international peace front with the bourgeois-democratic countries, which would have stopped the fascist aggressors and prevented the war; (b) the betrayal of Republican Spain by placing the arms embargo against it, thereby, in collusion with Chamberlain and Blum, dealing European democracy a deadly blow and giving Hitler and Mussolini a decisive victory; (c) the sending of munitions to Japan, wherewith to make war against the Chinese people; (d) the attempt, in the Finnish situation, to transform the present war into a general capitalist war against the U.S.S.R.; (e) the inauguration of the drive for military domination of the whole Western Hemisphere, from Hudson Bay to Cape Horn; (f) the adoption of the unneutral policy of giving "all aid short of war to Great Britain," including lifting the arms embargo, then sending of secret war planes, the allocation of the fifty destroyers, and the war pact with Canada.

Against this program of imperialist aggression and conquest the leaders of the trade unions have failed to react in a manner to safeguard the peace and welfare of the working class and the American people generally. As for the A. F. of L. top officialdom, as usual, with the accompaniment of pacifist phrases, it has fitted its policies right in with those of the warlike imperialist capitalists. It scorned the international peace front; condemned the Spanish Republican cause, took no steps in defense of the Chinese people; carried on a violent campaign of incitement against the Soviet Union during the Finnish war and at all other times; blessed the Administration's imperialistic "hemisphere defense" program, and gave its full support to Roosevelt's warlike policy of aiding British imperialism. The Greens, Hutchesons and Wolls in the A. F. of L. and the Hillman forces in the C.I.O., have concurred in the whole foreign policy of American imperialism, a policy which is largely responsible for the present war and for our threatened involvement in it.

In general, the attitude of the C.I.O. leader, John L. Lewis, towards the war and the Government's foreign policy is isolationist: that America should keep its hands out of Europe's quarrels. Time and again he has warned that sinister forces are trying to involve the United States in the war, and he has insisted that our great task is to defend democracy in this country. Lewis, however, has not opposed the Administration's foreign policy concretely — regarding the peace front, Spain, the Soviet Union, Finland, Japan and Great Britain; and he has not proposed alternative constructive peace policies in any of these instances. Thus, Lewis did not attack the Government's outrageous betrayal of Re-

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publican Spain, nor did he support the Spanish Loyalists. Similarly with regard to China, the Soviet Union, England, etc., he took no definite and determined peace stand. The one outstanding exception was in the case of Latin America, where Lewis gave powerful support to the democratic forces. By his vigorous general opposition to American involvement in the war, and especially his fight against conscription, undoubtedly Lewis has done much to encourage the peace forces of this country. But his isolationism, with its lack of a positive democratic foreign policy, is inadequate to serve as the basis for a strong peace movement capable of resisting the Government's warlike foreign policy, point by point.

An imperative need of the American trade union movement is a peace policy of proletarian internationalism. This should be based upon active collaboration with the democratic and revolutionary peoples of the Soviet Union, China, India and Latin America, with the oppressed minorities and vanquished nations, with the labor movement of the world—against all the imperialist war-makers, including those of the United States and Great Britain, as well as of Germany, Italy and Japan. Green's and Hillman's line of supporting the Roosevelt Administration's foreign policy is a straight road to war, and Lewis' general isolationism, if not reshaped into a positive peace program, can result in eventual collapse before the drive of the militant war-makers.

The Question of the Workers' Economic Standards

The domestic side of the imperialists' war program is to reap enormous profits for themselves at the expense of the living standards of the toiling masses, even as they did in the first World War, when eighteen thousand new millionaires were created. The corporations are now sabotaging arms production until their outrageous terms are accepted. Their present growing success in this organized robbery may be indicated by a few figures. The profits of General Motors have jumped up from $16,370,192 in the first six months of 1939 to $25,871,572 in the corresponding period in 1940, and those of U. S. Steel from $1,970,312 to $36,315,003. During the same period 95 leading manufacturing concerns stepped up their profits by 317 per cent. The profiteering hold-up in arms contracts is further illustrated by a recent arrangement between the Government and the Chrysler Motor Corporation for 5,000 tanks, in which, besides paying the company an exorbitant price, the Government built a $20,000,000 plant which it is renting to Chrysler for one dollar a year. The Packard Company secured from the Administration an even more advantageous contract. It gets, in addition to $3,333 each for 9,000 airplane motors, the sole ownership of a $30,000,000 plant which was entirely paid for by the Government. And so it goes all along the line with the employers also demanding tax-free surplus profits and similar advantages. Sid-

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ney Hillman, however, assures us (*PM*, Sept. 4), that "industry's lack of patriotism is exaggerated." While the employers, with the help of the Government, are thus plunging into an orgy of profiteering, they are at the same time working on a program of reducing the people's living standards. By distorting the experience of France, they are erecting into a sort of sacred capitalist principle their insistence that the toiling masses must be impoverished and the wealthy still further enriched if the country is to be defended. All their agents and mouthpieces are shouting that the workers must accept heavier burdens. In fact, while the employers are reaping their added millions, the workers' real wages have stood still. Both President Roosevelt and candidate Willkie, while demagogically asserting, for election purposes, that they will protect the workers' standards, are significantly warning the masses that they must be prepared to make sacrifices. The employers' program, which is being pushed on all fronts, is to reduce the workers' living and working conditions by weakening the trade unions, by raising living costs, by breaking down union shop regulations, by increasing hours, by the speed-up, by slashing work-relief, by curtailing social security and emasculating other labor legislation, by shifting the tax rate against the poorer strata, by enforced "loans" from the workers according to the Keynes Plan, and by various other robbery devices designed to throw the financial burden of the "defense" program upon the workers.

In this situation it is of the most vital importance that the unions militantly defend the workers' economic interests. The working masses are increasingly in a militant mood. But the top A. F. of L. leaders have accepted in practice, as well as in theory, the capitalist idea that the workers must make sacrifices for "national defense" and they are playing down all militancy among the workers, as the heavy decline in strike activity in 1940, as compared with 1939, shows. William Green, to offset the increasing mass pressure of the workers, is making a clamor to the effect that labor standards must not be reduced; but his real line was exposed by his statement in the *American Federationist* for July, 1940, that "Our members will work ten, twelve and sixteen hours a day and be glad to do it, whenever an emergency involving the safety of the nation requires it." In *The New York Times* of August 20, Green also was cited in favor of industrial conscription as follows: "We are not opposed to compulsory industrial service, registration and training, if that becomes necessary to protect our lives and our homeland."

The A. F. of L. leader say, "Don't strike, leave it to the Government to protect us." Dan Tobin, head of the powerful Teamsters Union, is quoted approvingly to this effect by the September *American Federationist*. Mr. Tobin, and his A. F. of L. co-leaders, want us to believe that "concerns that deprive the workers of their rights in any way will undoubtedly be taken in

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charge by these [governmental] authorities." This, in spite of the present unrebuked debauch of arms profiteering and encroachment upon the workers' conditions. We may be sure that if Green, Woll, Hutcheson and Tobin have their way the workers will be tied up with no-strike, no-wage-advance, no-organize restrictions as they were by Gompers during the first World War.

Sidney Hillman with his Labor Policy Advisory Committee, made up of Administration-selected representatives of the A. F. of L., C.I.O. and Railroad Brotherhoods, is following this same employer-Government line of forcing the workers to accept "sacrifices," of leashing the working class to the chariot of American imperialism. Hillman is using his influence everywhere, especially in the C.I.O. unions (Steel, Auto, Mine, Textile, Rubber, Clothing, etc.), to kill the fighting spirit of the workers, to dampen their wage movements and to halt their organizing drives. With sinister significance he "assured" the workers (*PM*, Sept. 4), that labor has not yielded up the right to strike, "it has merely abandoned the privilege of striking." Characteristically, also, the first statement of Hillman's Labor Policy Advisory Committee, on July 12, accepted *unconditionally* the Government's so-called defense program and made no demands whatever to check the war profiteers or to protect the conditions of the workers. And in the August 31 statement of the National Defense Advisory Committee, in which Hillman is the hand-picked labor representative, it is stated that: "All work carried on as part of the Defense Program should comply with Federal statutory provisions affecting labor." Note: he does not say *must*, but merely an evasive *should*. This is an invitation to the employers to violate labor's legislative protection. The Social-Democrats are the most outspoken warmongers in the labor movement. President Roosevelt, in selecting one of this tendency, Sidney Hillman, to head the Labor Policy Advisory Commission, got a reliable war agent.

It is to the great credit of John L. Lewis, and the strong group of C.I.O. leaders behind him, that while the A. F. of L., Railroad Brotherhood, and Hillman C.I.O. forces have accepted the imperialists' "sacrific and no-strike" policy, the Lewis leaders have developed a militant campaign in defense of the workers' economic standards. This is the very strongest point in their present war-time program, and its vital significance cannot be overestimated. Lewis has taken a bold stand against profiteering in all its forms, for the strictest application and the strengthening of the Wagner Act, Walsh-Healey Act, Wages-and-Hours Act, and all other important social legislation. He is pushing for a determined defense of wage rates, for the continuation of work relief on a larger scale, for better hours and working conditions, and for the organization of the millions of unorganized. Lewis is not fooled by the employers' cry that the war will do away with unemployment,

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but is insisting correctly that this remains the nation's number one economic problem. Lewis' militant position on the defense of the workers' economic standards has been a thorn in the side of the employers, the Government and their Green-Hillman adjutants.

The fight for the economic interests of the workers and other toiling masses, for their right to strike, is of basic importance in this critical period. Not only because the organizations, legislation and living standards of the masses urgently need this defense, but also because this elementary fight is the very beginning and foundation of the struggle to keep America out of the war and to defend its democracy. The fight for the workers' economic interests should be conducted, not on the basis of the workers accepting "sacrifices," and not in defense of the status quo, but distinctly with the objective of improving the living and working conditions of the masses all along the line.

Assuming that the Government goes through with its stupendous militarization program, misnamed "national defense," the country, with its 11,000,000 unemployed, would still possess sufficient reserves of labor power to provide for substantial improvement in mass living standards. The militarization program will absorb only a minority of these millions of jobless, even if the country should go to war. (England, at war, still has a big unemployment problem.) The remaining workers will serve as a great reservoir of labor able to provide for shortening hours, improving wages, and better social security provisions. But the workers will have to fight militantly to achieve these betterments. During the last war the eight-hour day was established in the railroad, lumber, packing, steel and many other industries; in this war the six-hour day must be instituted widely, as a measure to give work to millions of unemployed.

The question of organizing the unorganized also now takes on greatly increased importance. While this war is going on several million workers should be organized into the trade unions. A good start toward this end would be the organization of the Ford plant, which would stimulate unionization work in every industry in the country.

The Defense of the People's Civil Liberties

A dangerous phase of the imperialists' war policy is to strip the workers and other toilers of their democratic rights in order to break down the will for peace of the masses. This explains the increasing attacks upon the Bill of Rights, including alien registration, the anti-trust prosecutions of the trade unions, the growth of vigilanteism, the attempts to outlaw the Communist Party, the moves, under the guise of conscription, to regiment the whole American people, the preparation of the infamous M-Day Plan and a great deal more of a similar reactionary character. During the last war period there was also much legisla-

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tion of this nature, but this time it is infinitely more widespread, vicious and sinister; all of which is an indication that the great American capitalists, like their confréres in Europe, are definitely heading towards fascism.

Consequently, a major task of the workers, in their struggle against America's involvement in the war and against reaction generally, is the fight to defend their civil liberties. Here again, however, they have been grossly betrayed by many of their most powerful trade union leaders. The A. F. of L. and Railroad Brotherhood officialdom (always excepting Whitney, of the Trainmen, who is following a line similar to John L. Lewis') are tailing along after the employers and the Government in their dangerous trend towards the eventual establishment of fascism in this country through the suppression of civil liberties.

These reactionary union leaders have given strong support to the infamous Dies Committee and its "fifth column" demagogy; they joined hands with the employers in attacking the Wagner Act; they want to drive the Communists out of the unions and to illegalize the Communist Party; they are making no fight against the impending M-Day plan regimentation; they made no protest against Roosevelt's dangerously dictatorial act of transferring the destroyers to England. Their opposition to conscription was purely formal, forced by the mass pressure of their membership. The very worst of these red-baiting, warmongering misleaders of labor are the Social-Democrats, such as Dubinsky of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. It is typical of this breed that Sidney Hillman never spoke a word against conscription, although the A. F. of L., the C.I.O. and the Railroad Brotherhoods had all officially condemned the infamous Burke-Wadsworth Bill.

In this most vital matter John L. Lewis is correct in that he has taken a determined stand against the dangerous attacks now being made upon the Bill of Rights. Declaring that the rights of labor are more in jeopardy now "than at any time in the history of the modern labor movement," Lewis has waged a militant fight against conscription, against the reactionaries' attempts to emasculate existing labor legislation and to limit trade union rights, against the infamous proceedings of the Dies Committee, and against the poll tax and other restrictions upon the voting rights of Negroes and poor whites. The greatest weakness in Lewis' fight for the preservation of civil liberties, however, is that he has not combated the current attempts to outlaw the Communist Party. Although he refuses to join in the scandalous red-baiting by the reactionaries, he has not understood the basic fact that the Communist Party is the first line trench of American democracy and that unless its legal rights are defended the whole structure of our civil liberties is imperilled. In Italy, Germany and France the first big step of the reactionaries towards fascism was to outlaw the Communist Party,

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and when this was accomplished the rest of the fascist program soon followed. It is just this course that the reactionaries in this country have in mind with their vicious attacks upon the Communist Party —the outrageous conviction of Earl Browder and other Party leaders, the denial of election rights to the Party, etc. The defense of the legal existence of the Communist Party is the bounden task of the trade unions and other democratic organizations as a major, if not the decisive, phase of their own fight for the right to live and function. They could learn a most valuable lesson from the fight of the Radicals, Socialists and trade unionists of Chile against the attempts of the fascists in that country to outlaw the Communist Party.

The Question of a Third Party

The war situation emphasizes in sharpest form the imperative need of the workers, farmers, professionals and other democratic elements of the people to organize a great new, third party. The Democratic Party has abandoned even the mild reforms of the New Deal and it has agreed with the Republican Party upon a program of reaction and war. Roosevelt and Willkie are at one regarding every major question confronting the country, both domestic or foreign. They support the policy of all aid to Great Britain; they are agreed upon American imperialism's militant policy in the Far East and its drive to dominate Latin America; they endorse conscription and the gigantic so-called "national defense" program; they are also both of the determination that the workers must make sacrifices. Both would "appease" Hitler or make war upon him, as the interests of Wall Street dictate. Either Willkie or Roosevelt would, if elected, head as fast as possible towards developing the dictatorship that the big capitalists have in mind for this country. The election program of the Communist Party correctly states:

"The Democratic Party is the party of the Roosevelts and Dies, of the Garners and Woodrums, of the du Ponts and Cromwells, of the Boss Hagues and Kelleys, of Tammany and the K.K.K. It is the party of 'liberal' promises and reactionary deeds.

"The Republican Party is the party of the Willkies and Hoovers, of the Vandenbergs and Fords, of the Insulls, Weirs and Girdlers. It is the party of the Associated Farmers and the open shoppers.

"The Morgans, Rockefellers and du Ponts are the Interlocking Directorate and Holding Company of both the Democratic and Republican parties. That is why *both* parties are war parties, M-Day parties, parties of imperialism, reaction and hunger." (*Election Platform of the Communist Party, 1940,* p. 13.)

The formation of a great third party is fast becoming a life-and-death question for the American trade union movement. Such a party is vitally necessary in order to fight for peace, to defend the workers' living and working stan-

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dards, and their civil rights. Especially is this true since the adoption of conscription. The new party must be a people's party, representing all the toilers, dedicated to the struggle against the war-makers and imperialists, and aiming at a far-reaching democratization of American life.

There is now a sufficiently broad political mass basis for the successful launching of such a great party. This is seen from the facts that the overwhelming majority of the people want peace, whereas the two big parties are for war; the people want to better their economic standards, whereas the Republican and Democratic parties aim to reduce them; the people want to preserve their civil liberties, whereas both Democrats and Republicans are heading towards a fascist dictatorship. Never were the masses so sharply in conflict with the political policies of the two capitalist parties. In this election huge numbers, who will vote for Roosevelt as a "lesser evil," would vote for a broad Farmer-Labor Party were there one in the field. The 9,000,000 trade union members could furnish a solid organizational foundation for the new party of peace, jobs and democracy.

Although the workers are developing politically very fast, large numbers are still afflicted with many serious illusions, which help to hold them back from independent political action—including a waning belief in Roosevelt, the misconception that Great Britain is fighting for democracy and that we should help her, confusion about what constitutes "national unity" and "national defense," and a hesitancy to break with long-time political connections. But the greatest stumbling block to the formation of a great party of toilers is the conservative policy of the A. F. of L. and Railroad Brotherhoods leadership, together with the Social-Democrats of the Hillman-Dubinsky type. These people, in the malodorous tradition of Gompers, are the inveterate enemies of the Farmer-Labor Party movement. They are striving to keep the working class under the domination of both old capitalist parties. Thus, in the A. F. of L. Executive Council we see the criminally ridiculous spectacle of the Green-Tobin group supporting Roosevelt, while the Woll-Hutcheson clique endorses Willkie.

The C.I.O., especially John L. Lewis, has done invaluable work in educating the masses on the need for independent political action. The formation of Labor's Non-Partisan League was a long step in the right direction. So also was Lewis' establishment of closer political working relations with various farmers' organizations, the American Youth Congress, the National Negro Congress, the Townsend pension movement, the peace organizations, and other mass groupings. But, as Gene Dennis points out in his article on this general subject in the September issue of *The Communist*, many progressive leaders have been slow and hesitant in moving towards the formation of the third party.

During the present election cam-

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paign the basis should definitely be laid for a broad people's political coalition. The fight for the Communist candidates, Browder and Ford, the broad political discussion in all toilers' organizations, the support of genuinely anti-war candidates—should be followed up by a gathering together of all these democratic forces into a united political movement. The drive towards war by the two old parties and their increasing attacks upon the living standards and civil liberties of the American people make the early formation of a powerful new party of the toiling masses imperative.

Trade Unionism and Socialism

For the American trade union movement the question of socialism is also raised fundamentally by the present war. The capitalist system, which is in its final stage, that of monopoly and imperialism, is engulfed in an incurable general crisis. It is breaking down, rotting at the heart. Just as feudalism had to give way to a higher social system, capitalism, so now this capitalist system, having outlived its constructive historical role, will have to make place for the next great advance of humanity, to socialism. The two world wars within one generation, the deepening industrial paralysis, the decay of bourgeois democracy, the rise of fascism, the growth of political revolt in many countries, are all basic indications of the fundamental decay of capitalism as a world system.

The first World War dealt an irreparable blow to the capitalist system as a whole. Besides causing an economic ruin that has never been overcome, it also resulted in the birth of socialism in the Soviet Union, covering one-sixth of the earth's land surface. In the present war the imperialists are unwittingly delivering still heavier smashes at their doomed social order. This is all the more significant because capitalism as a system is much weaker economically and politically now than it was during the early stages of the first World War. And also because the anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist forces—the great Soviet Union, the vast colonial liberation movements in China, India, and Latin America, the oppressed national minorities and vanquished peoples, the awakening workers and peasants in various countries—are far more powerful than they were then. Consequently, the capitalist system is at present much less able to stand the shock of war and revolution than it was a generation ago.

The great capitalists of the world are well aware of the danger into which their social system is now sinking and they are filled with a growing fear of socialist revolution. Consequently, they are everywhere moving in the direction of fascist terrorism, hoping by this means to maintain their obsolete social order in operation. This trend applies to the United States as well as to all other big capitalist countries. Wall Street is the home of the fifth column and the mainspring of fascist agitation in this country. Roosevelt

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has succumbed to this general reactionary trend. He has definitely abandoned the New Deal reforms, and has turned to the fatal course of militant imperialism, reactionary dictatorship and war, in his effort to keep capitalism going.

The American working class must come to understand the above outlined basic developments—the breakdown of capitalism and the growth of the forces making for socialism. Otherwise it cannot effectively defend even its most elementary interests, but will be betrayed by the capitalists into the swamp of tyranny, poverty and war, which is the only prospect before the people so long as capitalism lasts. The workers' leaders must realize, while they are fighting for every possible easement under capitalism — better economic conditions, stronger organization, greater democracy—that the deepening difficulties of the masses can never be basically solved until the workers strike at the fundamental root of the whole evil of present-day society by abolishing private ownership in the industries and the land, by making these social necessities the property of the whole people, by establishing a government of workers and farmers.

Socialism offers the only road for humanity to peace, prosperity and freedom. This is shown conclusively by the Soviet Union which, with its socialist system, has abolished industrial crises and unemployment and developed an expanding industry and agriculture, with constantly improving mass standards of living, culture and freedom. The American trade unions imperatively require a class-conscious leadership. They must have at their head not antedeluvian Gompersites of the Green-Woll school, nor dangerously opportunistic Social-Democrats à la Hillman-Dubinsky, but militant progressive leaders who have some understanding of the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism; men and women who know what is actually happening in this harassed world and what must be done about it.

In Conclusion

In addition to the foregoing outlined needs for the trade unions in order to defeat the warmongers: namely, a clearer understanding of the causes and objectives of the war, a program of genuine national defense and national unity, a vigorous fight to protect and improve the workers' economic standards, a powerful defense of the Bill of Rights against the fascist-minded employers, a consolidation of the peace forces in a great third party of toilers, and a new type of class-conscious leadership—there are also a number of other considerations to bear in mind.

The first of these is that the more the Green-Hillman leaders develop the Government's pro-war policies among the workers, the more this will widen the gap between these leaders and the rank and file of the unions. Thus it is becoming more and more necessary for the masses of trade union members, who are eager to stay out of the war and to defend their stan-

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dards and liberties, to exercise their democratic rights in the unions. Trade union democracy now becomes of paramount importance. During the first World War, when the leaders grossly betrayed the rank and file, and when the gap between the two was wide and deep, the workers often were compelled to take the defense of their interests into their own hands. Hence there were the many rank-and-file wage movements, organizing campaigns, and strikes in that period. That the membership below is already beginning to move in the present war crisis is shown by the significant trade union representation at the recent Emergency Peace Mobilization in Chicago, by the widespread cropping up of unofficial strike movements, and by many other rank-and-file developments.

Another vital need created by the present situation is for rank-and-file education on the complicated issues raised by the war. While the serious menace presented by the pro-war attitude of the powerful trade union leaders must always be keept clearly in mind, there must nevertheless be no overlooking of the danger contained in the many illusions and confusions prevailing among the workers themselves. As Lenin said *(Left Wing Communism,* page 4) "We must not regard that which is obsolete *for us* as obsolete *for the class,* as obsolete *for the masses.*" Despite their enormous political advances in recent years, many millions of workers have illusions that British imperialism is fighting for democracy and that Roosevelt is a progressive. They are likewise confused regarding the questions of national defense and national unity. Also the great majority of them have not yet come to understand even the first elements of socialism. Only by recognizing and overcoming these deterrent factors among the workers, only by systematic educational work, can the power of the warmongering reactionaries be broken in the ranks of the unions.

Still another basic consequence to be borne in mind in the present critical period is the urgent need for trade union unity. Although organic unity of the three big divisions of the trade union movement may not be immediately at hand, nevertheless, practical cooperation between labor's split forces, in the fight against American involvement in the war, is possible. It is noteworthy that when the Government and the employers wanted the trade union officials to come together in support of their gigantic militarization and war program they had not the slightest difficulty in accomplishing this through Hillman's Labor Policy Advisory Commission. Why, then, cannot the A. F. of L., the C.I.O., and the Railroad Brotherhoods, especially in their lower ranks, cooperate in defense of the workers' common interests? Many current instances of such cooperation show that this can be done on a general scale.

This joint fight against American entry into the war, for the defense of the workers' living standards and civil liberties and for the formation of a great Farmer-Labor party,

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should provide the basis for an early organic unity of the whole American trade union movement.

Lastly, there is the heavy emphasis which the war places upon the role of the Communist Party. In this crisis, when the capitalists are deluging the world with blood and trying to set up the most deadly regimes of terrorism and demagogy, it is the great task of our Party to stand forth boldly, braving all persecutions and explaining to the workers the basic meaning of the course of events. It is to the Communist Party above all that the masses must look for a true analysis of the domestic and world situations and for a clear lead in their struggles to defend themselves from the predatory, fascist-minded, war-making capitalists and their labor lieutenants. During the first World War the dominant Socialist Party leadership failed the workers, abetting the war and surrendering the everyday needs of the workers. But the Communist Party, true to its spirit of proletarian internationalism, will stand fast, come what may. Without fear, it will point the way for the workers along which the people can fight themselves out of the capitalist wilderness, and its militants will always be found in the very front line of the struggle.

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THE CRISIS IN MEXICO

BY JAMES S. ALLEN

THE Mexican revolution is now at its most critical point. Pressed by the forces of international reaction, particularly by the weight of the North American collosus, threatened from within by armed counter-revolution, Mexico has been forced into a crucial struggle, the outcome of which affects the whole hemisphere.

For Mexico is now the touchstone and the chief testing ground of all the imperialist and anti-imperialist forces at work in the Americas. In the recent period, Mexico marked the high point of the continental anti-imperialist struggle by the expropriation of the foreign oil companies and some of the foreign-owned landed estates, and is the first Latin American country to have successfully begun a revolutionary land reform. Propelled by the imperialist war into an active policy of aggrandizement and struggle for world hegemony, the United States presses for an immediate solution of the Mexican problem in accordance with its program of hemispheric control. If Wall Street has its way with Mexico, it will proceed more rapidly with the attempt to impose its will upon all the Latin American peoples. If Mexico successfully defeats the counter-revolution, she will inspire a great upsurge of the anti-imperialist movement throughout Latin America.

The United States and the Almazan Threat

Almazan, encouraged by international reaction and given a free hand by Roosevelt to plot rebellion from North American soil, is the nexus of all the obsurantist and reactionary forces which are now attempting to suck the lifeblood out of Mexico. The expropriated oil interests, British and American, the Nazis (German and French), the Italian fascists and the Japanese military-fascists encouraged by the Mexican reactionaries, are seeking to lay out their stakes in the Almazan camp. On one point their interests coincide—to bring the Mexican democratic advance to an end and impose a reactionary dictatorship in the country, each striving to make that dictatorship serve the interests of their own group or combination of groups.

The attempts of the non-American powers to influence the immediate course of events in Mexico

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are overwhelmingly counter-balanced by the great weight of the United States imperialist *drang nach Suden*. Here geography plays a decisive role. Some United States finance-capitalist circles, in cooperation with fascist groups, are directly supporting Almazan, using the method, so dear to traditional expansionists, of provoking and arming the counter-revolution. But even apart from this, Almazan inevitably becomes the instrument of the United States in attaining its own immediate objectives, no matter how many other imperialist powers or finance capitalist groups may be attempting to aid him and to capitalize upon him. For the aim of Washington can be defined as seeking to assure a Mexican policy pliant to the Wall Street program of hemispheric control, and in this connection Almazan is an invaluable asset. In his role of *potential* leader of armed rebellion, both Washington and the internal reaction have used him for political blackmail against the Cardenas regime, forcing important concessions on internal as well as international policy.

If Almazan should find it necessary to take the road of armed rebellion, Washington is ready to control him in accordance with its game of pressure, and to claim him as its own should this prove feasible.

In his statements from Havana and from the United States, Almazan has openly declared against Cardenas, indicating that he and his allies are pressing for a solution before President-elect Avila Camacho takes office on December 1. He has thus taken the next step towards armed rebellion which logically follows from his whole line of action since the elections of July 7—the establishment of dual electoral machinery from the polling booths up to an Almazanista parliament which has already declared one of his stooges provisional president of Mexico.

Utilizing the immediate perspective of a counter-revolutionary uprising, Washington increases its pressure upon Cardenas and Camacho. While Almazan confers with his chiefs in Texas and rattles his sword as *jefe* of the armed uprising, the emissaries of Roosevelt in Mexico City invoke the horrors of civil war and counsel a peace of death to the Mexican people's revolution. In other words, in the traditional manner of Yankee imperialist intrigue, Washington plays both ends, carefully estimating the developing situation and ready to throw its decisive weight on the side which it thinks will produce the results most coveted by its policy of hemispheric control. If it can accomplish its end by forcing the Mexican government down the road of concessions to the point of conciliation with the counter-revolution, which is the specific content of the "Good Neighbor" policy as now applied to Mexico, this is the method it would prefer; for, an armed struggle south of the Rio Grande overflows with unpredictables and unpleasant surprises.

In any case, the supreme task facing Mexico is the decisive and complete liquidation of the Almazan counter-revolution. As long as Al-

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mazan continues to function as the pivot of imperialist and native reactionary forces, the popular government of Mexico will be continually and rapidly weakened by concessions to the point of capitulation without a struggle. For the people of the United States as well this is of first-ranking importance; for, a decisive defeat of Almazan and his coterie of traitors will be a defeat for the policy of imperialist adventures upon which Washington has embarked. The plotting of counter-revolution in Mexico and the attempt to prostitute the democratic regime of that country to Wall Street is the logical complement of the two-ocean navy, the acquiring of new naval bases in the Atlantic and the Pacific, the establishment of peace-time military conscription. In the undeclared state of war directed against the people of the United States and of Latin America by Wall Street, the first major battle is being fought in Mexico.

Already under the pressure of United States imperialism and the internal reaction, the Cardenas government has been weakened by a series of important concessions which have strengthened the hand of the counter-revolution. In relation to the international situation these concessions have taken the form of general, although grudging, compliance of the Cardenas regime and the Party of the Mexican Revolution (P.R.M.) with the main points of Washington's foreign policy. Here there has been complicity in embellishing the vital questions of United States imperialist expansion in Latin America with the "Good Neighbor" verbiage of the State Department. The military conscription bill has been passed in a form and in a manner to correspond most closely to the desires of the United States and to encourage similar action by a number of Central American republics. The most important concession was typified at the Havana Pan-American Conference, where Mexico adopted an attitude of general acquiescence towards the main objectives of the United States, although it advanced an independent position on important but lesser matters. In addition there have been promises of "protection" for foreign vested interests in Mexico, the development of an ambiguous position with regard to the labor and peasant demands, accompanied by red-baiting and attacks upon the Soviet Union from leaders of the regime and the P.R.M.

These are serious and basic concessions, which cannot be argued away as tactical maneuvers to evade a head-on clash with a much more powerful foe. Under certain circumstances, it is understandable that Mexico may be *forced* to make concessions in the face of a superior force and with lack of sufficiently strong allies, in which case these may be purely tactical moves, signifying nothing more than a temporary retreat in order to gain a better position for the struggle to maintain the independence of Mexico. But what is of prime importance here is the relationship of class forces within Mexico and the general policy which underlies these concessions. The question which

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needs to be answered is whether these concession in themselves represent a *policy* which inevitably leads to capitulation, or whether they represent a *tactic* wielded and supported by a combination of forces within Mexico working in a united and organized manner in the direction of the further extension of the Mexican revolution.

The Road of Concessions

It is clear that the concessions already made are of such a basic and principled character that they have the effect of strengthening reaction within the country and further fortifying those sections of the national bourgeoisie interested in granting further concessions to imperialism as a means of struggle against the popular will of Mexico. Furthermore, disorientating the workers and peasants on the prime questions raised by the war, and calling a general halt, even retreat on the main demands of the democratic revolution, is certainly not the way to mobilize the popular combination of forces gathered within the P.R.M. for a decisive struggle against counter-revolution.

At its Extraordinary Congress in March, the Communist Party of Mexico, in analyzing the present stage of the Mexican bourgeois-democratic revolution, pointed out the danger of a turn to the Right by important sections of the national bourgeoisie which was created in the course of the revolution itself. The Party emphasized that the outbreak of the imperialist war leads to the increasing pressure of imperialism, especially Wall Street imperialism, upon Mexico. It pointed out that under these conditions the only way to prevent national betrayal was to strengthen the alliance of the popular forces, transforming the present loosely joined P.R.M. into a real anti-imperialist People's Front, in which especially the workers and peasants could exert their independent pressure for the fulfilment of the program of the revolution.

The Communist Party placed prime emphasis upon the need to build the independent role of the working class within the People's Front, pointing out especially the need for an independent working class policy directed towards defending and improving the conditions of the masses, speeding up the agrarian reform and extending democracy in all its popular phases. Already at that time the Communist Party warned against the growing tendencies towards compromise with reaction among sectors of the P.R.M., especially against the growing prestige of the Portes Gil reactionary group (in closest contact with United States finance capital groups), which was directing the attack from within the P.R.M. against the labor unions and seeking to bring about division between the peasants and workers. It warned against the general tendency to slow up the revolutionary reforms, the failure to meet the internal economic crisis created by the war, and demanded that steps be taken to make imperialist enterprises, the "newly-rich" bourgeoisie and the *hacienderos** pay for the necessary

* Large landowners.

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steps to meet the pressing economic problems of the country. The Party insisted upon the danger of an armed uprising by Almazan, supported by the internal reaction and fostered by United States imperialists, at a time when the leaders of the P.R.M. were generally underestimating this danger and were taking no measures to combat it.

To impart new impetus to the Mexican revolution, to set the masses in motion on the high road of fulfilment of its program is the only way in which the counter-revolution can be defeated and the national sovereignty of Mexico protected. But who is to give this impetus to the revolution, where is the initiative to arise which will impel all the popular forces of Mexico into a new national-revolutionary upsurge?

Events of the last months have again shown that such an initiative cannot come from the national bourgeoisie, important sectors of which can be swept along in a popular movement, but no section of which is capable of inspiring and leading a rejuvenated democratic revolution in Mexico.

This has been especially evident since the elections of July 7, when the strength accumulated by Almazan through demagogic use of the mistakes and failures of the P.R.M. and the Government came as an alarming surprise to the leaders of the progressive camp, and fortunately stirred them somewhat out of the lethargy to which they had succumbed. The virtual possession of the streets of Mexico City on election day by the Almazanista forces, many of them gangs of professional *pistoleros* buttressed by women and children, sounded the general alarm. This event signified that Almazan's strength derived, not so much from the numerical following which he was able to muster, although this is also important, but, even more, from the weaknesses of the P.R.M. camp. The failure of the popular leaders even to make an attempt to safeguard the streets and the popular organizations against the counter-revolutionary guerilla bands showed their general underestimation of the danger, the prevalence of formalistic constitutional and legalistic illusions among them. If panic ruled some circles after this revelation, it was because they had been caught unawares, and to be caught unawares in a situation of social turmoil is a symptom of vital weakness. An honest examination of the causes of the moral reversal of July 7 could only lead the authentic leaders of the mass organizations, and in the first place of the Mexican Confederation of Labor (C.T.M.), to the conclusion that they had left matters almost entirely in the hands of the Government and the national bourgeoisie, permitting the basic mass organizations to tail along after them, without independent guidance and practically rudderless.

Taking advantage of the opening wedge provided by July 7, the reactionary forces inside as well as outside the P.R.M., supported unanimously by the commercial press, opened a ferocious assault upon the C.T.M., particularly its leader,

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Vicente Lombardo Toledano, upon the Communist Party and all the forces of the Left. At the same time, the forces within the P.R.M. favoring conciliation with the counter-revolution, particularly the Portes Gil group, put forth more boldly each day their proposals for ousting the Lombardo influences, inviting leading Almazanistas into the government of Camacho, and practically taking over the Almazanista program in toto. The concentration of both the open Almazanistas and their allies within the P.R.M. organizations was and still is upon bringing about a break between the liberal bourgeois and the peasant forces led by President Cardenas, and the organized workers supporting the Cardenas regime.

The Economic Crisis

If reaction is able to benefit from such tactics it is because it capitalizes upon a general state of disquiet and discontent which exists among the masses as a result of the economic crisis. The restriction of Mexico's foreign markets for oil and other exports by the spread of the war and the retaliatory measures taken by the expropriated companies have led to a real depreciation of the purchasing value of the peso and a catastrophic increase in the cost of prime necessities. Through control of finance and credit, the imperialist and reactionary forces have intensified the crisis by manipulating the peso to its present low point and increasing the price of essential commodities. No steps have been taken by the Government to remedy this situation, although Lombardo Toledano and the C.T.M. have urged the most effective measure: the nationalization of the banks (the most powerful banking system is now in the hands of Nazified French stockholders). Control of credit and marketing has permitted the reaction to stifle the further development of the *ejidos*, communal and state undertakings; while, since the expropriation of the oil industry, the imperialist enterprises in mining, power and traction have enjoyed comparative freedom of action and even protection from the demands of the workers out of fear by the Government further to complicate the international relations of Mexico. The difficulties of the expropriated oil industry, which arise from the dislocation of markets caused by the war and the retaliation of the British and American trusts, as well as the troubles of the nationalized railroad system, which are due to the general economic backwardness of the country, at present offer the principal basis for the Almazanistas demagoguery.

If the Almazan reaction has been able to penetrate among the oil and railroad workers, using these positions as a lever with which to discredit the main achievements of the Cardenas regime and bring about a break between the workers and the Government, the responsibility for this must be shared by President Cardenas and his supporters. President Cardenas has been forced by events to realize the blunder of proposing reorganization of the oil

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industry and the railroads on the basis of asking the workers to bear the burden of this reorganization. The workers in these industries were getting tired of hearing again and again the same appeal to make sacrifices for the sake of the "revolution," while no steps were being taken to curb profiteering, reduce the cost of living, force the newly-rich, the landowners and the imperialist enterprises to make the "sacrifices" for the benefit of the country. And every time they raised demands for increase in their measly wages (the railroad workers are among the lowest paid in the country, some of them not having received wage increases for fifteen years), they were met with lectures from all sides about the need to sacrifice a little longer in the name of a "workers' democracy," which does not exist, and in the name of a future "classless society" which, as far as they could make out, was to include Anaconda, the Portes Gil interests, and possibly even Standard Oil.

The advocates of armed counter-revolution were quick to seize upon these weaknesses, and, capitalizing upon the situation, have provoked the present conflicts in the oil and railroad industries, and even among the state employees, with the object of initiating strikes against the Government, bringing about splits within these key unions, creating general disunity among the workers and between them and the forces gathered around President Cardenas, disrupting popular resistance to the counter-revolution, and clearing the way for the return of the nationalized industries to their former owners.

Just as serious is the general lag in the agrarian reform and the failure of the regime to give centralized direction and help to the existing *ejidos* and the cooperative undertakings in agriculture. During the regime of President Cardenas the program of land distribution to the *ejidos* was developed at a greater pace than at any time since the beginning of the Mexican revolution. But the progress of the reform has created numerous additional problems for *ejido* farming—problems of credit, irrigation, technological direction, colonization, marketing, transport; protection from the remaining *hacienderos*, the processing combines, the private credit institutions, While no centralized and planned attempt was made to meet these problems and to direct the reform towards efficient cooperative undertakings, the tendency was to rest on the record, to halt the extension of the reform to millions of peons and peasants with insufficient land, and reluctance to carry on seriously the confiscation of the *haciendas* which still compromise in one form or another possibly half of the cultivated land of Mexico. And in the closest relation to this problem, there still remains the unsolved question of the dispossessed and underprivileged Indian communities.

The troubles of the *ejiditarios*, the feudal conditions of the peons, the discontent of the growing number of small and poor landowners offer a fertile ground for counter-revolution, an opening which both

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Almazan and Portes Gill have not failed to see.

With the help of imperialist pressure, reaction in Mexico is concentrating its attack upon the main achievements of the democratic revolution: the advances attained with tremendous sacrifices by the trade union movement; the agrarian reform; the expropriation and nationalization of certain branches of the economy; the laying of the groundwork of the people's sovereignty and independence.

In this work, reaction has seeped into the Party of the Mexican Revolution, winning adherents among the sections of the national bourgeoisie which have achieved wealth and place as a result of the people's revolution, sections which above all else want to call a complete halt to the revolution and are turning against the proletariat and the peasantry. Nationalist leaders, who had been swept along in the revolution and assumed places of leadership and direction, have wavered in the ebb and flow of the social struggle, shuttling between the genuine program of the people's revolution and the class program of the landowners and the national bourgeoisie. Even under more normal conditions the Mexican revolution would have reached this stage of differentiation of class forces; the rapidity of war developments and the emergence of an active United States imperialist policy has hastened this differentiation and is rapidly bringing it to a head. This is always a painful process; today it is an especially crucial one, bound to be marked by sudden betrayals of the revolution by some of its outstanding nationalist leaders, by rapid shifts in the position of the petty-bourgeois groupings in the popular camp.

The New Initiative in the Revolution

The new initiative leading to a resurgence, the supreme need of Mexico today, can come from only one direction—from the masses in struggle in defense of the gains of thirty years of revolutionary endeavor. And the only force which can impel this resurgence is the Mexican working class, imparting direction to the peasantry and the petty-bourgeois strata. The prerequisite for this turn is above all the establishment of an independent working class policy, putting an end to the lagging after the liberal bourgeoisie, and the paralysis of the vital organs of the revolution resulting from this. It was the need of the Mexican revolution for the emergence of an independent working class position, on the basis of which a more consequential and hardened alliance of the popular forces would proceed, which made itself felt in the crisis of the Communist Party of Mexico and resulted in the cleansing of the Party of precisely those elements which had been corrupted by subservient association with the bourgeoisie and its spokesmen. A similar crisis, arising from the same source, simmers in the Mexican Confederation of Labor, disorientating and disorganizing some of the most important sectors of this most important mass organ of the people's movement. Vicente Lombardo Toledano,

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the outstanding mass leader, around whom have gathered the best progressive and revolutionary currents of Mexico, faces the task of bringing this crisis out of the simmering stage, of bringing about a reorientation of the basic revolutionary forces in defense of the people's gains.

The policy advocated in some P.R.M. quarters of waiting until the "peaceful" succession to power of the new president takes place on December 1 is suicidal, for in the intervening period the program of the new regime is being decided. Within the P.R.M., reaction brings pressure to bear upon President-elect Camacho to take over the program of Almazan, while Washington presses for "conciliation" on the plea that a civil war must be avoided at all costs. At the same time, the Cardenas regime is characterized by indecision, weakness and retreat in the face of the Almazan threat, the propaganda of counter-revolution, the demands of United States imperialism, taking only half-hearted measures against the brazen call to rebellion of the Almazanistas. But Cardenas, and even the President-elect, despite the commitments he has already made to reaction, can still be liberated from the reactionary pull upon them, by the sweep of a popular resurgence against the counter-revolution.

The main tasks and problems, as the Communist Party emphasizes, are to redirect the mass struggles of the workers, in the first place against the imperialist enterprises and the reactionary bourgeoisie; to lead the struggle against the high cost of living and bring about the nationalization of all private banking institutions; the resumption at a speedy pace of the agrarian reform, taking as a key the wholesale expropriation of the latifundia, a measure which until now has not been undertaken in any consistent manner and which is now essential to strike a heavy blow at one of the main pillars of reaction; democratic guarantees for the new conscripted army, an assurance which can fundamentally arise only from a national revolutionary and anti-imperialist policy.

It is on this program, and only this program, that the people can be mobilized to defeat decisively the Almazan counter-revolution, to clean out its allies within the Government, the P.R.M. and the Army, to put an end to concessions and defeat the rebellion as soon as it raises its head.

Mexico is now in the position where she can assume the role of inspiring and leading, through its own example, the vital anti-imperialist forces of the Americas which are assured of the alliance of the progressive, anti-war forces in the United States. The brutal march of United States imperialism towards struggle for world hegemony, as a bulwark of decaying capitalism, can still suffer serious reverses at its very doorstep. The genuine national revolutionary forces of Mexico are assured of the support of all the progressive and anti-imperialist forces of the continent.

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THE CUBAN PEOPLE AND THE NEW CONSTITUTION

BY BLAS ROCA

[*The following discussion of the new Cuban Constitution constitutes the first of two articles on the current political situation in Cuba by Blas Roca, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba, and Vice President of the fusion party: Union Revolutionary-Communist Party. With the present article as background, Blas Roca will in a forthcoming article analyze the outcome of the recent general elections, in the light of the imperialist war crisis. The second article will be published in an early issue of* The Communist.—*The Editor.*]

AS FAR back as May, 1936, the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Cuba, declared:

"The struggle for a sovereign Constituent Assembly must be made the main political slogan to guide all the mass work of the Party at this time. . . . We must strengthen and broaden the Committee for a Sovereign Constituent Assembly (organized on our initiative), giving it an ample mass base, drawing to it elements with a real following and getting the support of the unions and the most important organizations of the farmers and middle classes. We must convince them, in a progressive and well-organized fashion, of the need for taking part in the Constituent Assembly and the objectives of our participation. These committees must play a great part in the task of drawing other anti-imperialist parties into the electoral fight: Cuban Revolutionary Party [P.R.C. —popularly known as *Antenticos**]; Young Cuba (J.C.); National Agrarian Party (P.A.N.), and the others."

These words** answered with a really revolutionary slogan all the bombast and phrasemongering of those who, at that time, were promising the arrival of fantastic armed expeditions (from foreign bases) to kindle a "salvationary insurrection" —and served as a guide for popular action.

The slogan: *For a Free and Sovereign Constituent Assembly*, won over the masses. To maintain and defend it, it was necessary to defeat, even inside the Communist Party itself, the capitulationist tendencies of Jorge Vivó and Martin Castellanos, while outside of the

* The national-reformist party of Grau San Martin, which in the recent period has gone increasingly Right.

** Originally published in *Red Flag*, then official organ of the Communist Party of Cuba, published illegally.

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Party an implacable struggle had to be waged against putschism, insurrectionism, and infantile extremism.

The slogan of the Union Revolutionary-Communist Party (U.R.C.)* won. The Committees for a Free and Sovereign Constituent Assembly, under revolutionary direction, organized meetings, lectures, entertainments and other varied activities, enrolling the rank and file of the Authentic Party and men from all parties, despite the fact that their leadership prohibited them from participating.

From these committees drawn from the whole country the Revolutionary Union emerged as a national party, breaking through its shell as an insignificant municipal party and grouping in its center the most representative figures of the workers, peasants and intellectuals in the revolutionary movement of our day, in order to form, in close collaboration with the Communist Party, a victorious and powerful coalition party. Together the Union Revolutionary and the Communist Party gained decisively in popular action, organizing mass meetings of twenty and thirty thousand people, marching with a single slogan, with a single demand.

For a Free and Sovereign Constituent Assembly was transformed, through the efforts of the U.R.C. into the slogan of the whole Cuban people.

But this was not enough for victory. It was necessary first to call the Tenth Plenum of the Communist Party, persecuted and illegal, which pointed out the democratic attitude of Batista and demanded that mass support which was decisive in order to overcome the resistance of Congress and achieve finally the calling of the Constituent Assembly.

That was in July, 1938. Sure of triumphing in a new situation, in which the repression had been diminished, the U.R.C. raised the mass slogan: *For a Constitution to Assure Democracy, Popular Welfare, and Defense of National Economy!*

Attacks from all sides, misunderstandings, doubts, suspicions—all were levelled against the U.R.C.

Nevertheless, in November, 1939, elections were held and our Free and Sovereign Constituent Assembly was achieved. Now, in 1940, we have the Constitution which, with advances of undeniable importance, satisfies to a great extent the demand: *Democracy, Popular Welfare and Defense of National Economy!*

Opposition to the Constitution

The same people who struggled to prevent the holding of the Assembly worked, after it convened, to have it dissolve without finishing its mission of giving the country an authorized basic charter.

Economic and Financial Cuba, organ of the big importers and exporters, thus expressed in an editorial in April, 1940, the state of mind and the wishes of the rabid reactionaries:

"But since hope is the last thing that one loses, there is still some

* Fusion of the Union Revolutionary and Communist Parties.

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hope left for a suitable final verdict by the Assembly, or, even better, for the dissolution of the Assembly itself without its approving this projected Constitution."

After the Assembly approved the provisional article settling the mortgage moratorium, which involved $300,000,000 owed to the large banks and financial interests, the attacks against its functioning became more open and brutal. The inspiration for the attacks came from the foreign banks, the real hangmen of the national economy. *Diario de la Marina,* commenting on the agreement for settling the moratorium, said editorially on June 4:

"For this and for other exaggerated features which we have already pointed out, we do not foresee a long life for this 1940 Constitution."

Luz, daily organ of the Authentic Party, which poses as revolutionary, also took up the chorus of the outspoken reactionaries, cynically commenting on June 8, upon the end of the Assembly's labors:

"Today they will finish their work. They have finished with the Constitution, and if they go on they will finish with the Republic."

For a moment it looked as if the reactionaries might succeed in their anti-constitutional aims, thanks to the cooperation of irresponsible elements, demagogues and ultra-reactionaries of the type of Eddy Chibás, millionaire *Autentico,* who took up the Assembly's time with problems not of their responsibilities.

But in spite of these people, the Assembly overcame foreign imperialist pressure and concluded its labors on June 10. The Constitution was approved.

The same day José Vasconcelos, in *Avance* (Big Business), wrote:

"The Constitution is the most intricate and absurd that has ever been promulgated."

El Mundo (foreign banks), wishfully editorialized on June 6: "On top of all this there exists in the public mind the impression that the new basic charter is a failure."

"This Constitution," said Pepin Rivero, editor of *Diario de la Marina* (great commercial interests), on June 7, "is the splendorous finale to a period of vulgarization of ideas."

The critics of that persuasion seem infinite in number. Some condemn the Constitution because it has three hundred articles, others because it assures vacations with pay and pay for holidays, and still others because it has provisional articles.* It is a case of "damned if you do and damned if you don't."

Joined with these critics are various leaders of the Authentic Party, some of whom manage to do the dirty work for the open reactionaries and others who try to cover up by these attacks the failure of Grau San Martin as president of the convention. This failure was made evident when, thanks to the

* Provisions for a transitional period, which will automatically cease to be in effect after a defined period of years.

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calm and energetic functioning of Dr. Carlos Márquez Sterling, two hundred articles were adopted in two weeks, although it had required more than three months for the first hundred to be approved.

Other reactionary critics try in general to demonstrate that a constitution cannot amount to much since it only consists of declarations on a scrap of paper.

These criticisms reflect only the reactionary interests of those who were opposed to calling the Assembly in the first place and who now, after seeing our Magna Charta actually approved, begin to prepare the groundwork for hindering its application or for revoking it.

When the reactionaries attack the Constitution, they do so, not because they are greatly concerned with its length, or the beauty of its language, or its construction. With these criticisms they wish to hide the essence of the question by playing down the principles of the Constitution, and casting a cloud on its prestige, preparing for its modification and for rendering it ineffective.

The Constitution and the War

The very approval of the new Constitution is a great triumph, not only for internal but also for international order. Imperialist mass murder today implacably involves new peoples. In our hemisphere the imperialists are struggling to consume in the flames of war the youth of our subject countries and are preparing to take advantage of this situation in order to intensify the oppression of the Cuban people. The danger of intervention against Cuba is most acute and, in this state of affairs, the lack of a constitution would have made easier and would have served as an excuse for large-scale attacks upon our independence and right to national self-determination.

The Meaning of the Constitution

A constitution is always the reflection, more or less real, of the class relationships that exist in a country.

The Constitution is not of itself able to change anything, but in so far as it may reflect an actually determined situation, or a determined wish of the active majority of the people, it is a legal guarantee of the conquests already obtained and a point of support for widening and generalizing those gains.

There is no doubt whatever that no demand can be won merely by parliamentary battle. However, the victorious realization of a demand can be consolidated by incorporating it into a constitution which should be, as Stalin said, "the register and legislative consolidation of that which has already been obtained." The Cuban Constitution, moreover, has also a certain character of being a program for the future, since its text includes declarations in regard to objectives not yet reached—declarations that can be used as points of support to hasten the attainment of those objectives.

The real importance of the Cuban Constitution is, therefore:

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1. It closes the revolutionary cycle begun in August, 1933, stabilizing the institutional and legal regime.

2. It gives sanction to the most important conquests of the revolutionary period and, in the form of principles, states objectives in the interests of national independence of the Cuban people, principles which will facilitate the development of further, more concrete legislation to make them effective.

3. It makes it difficult for the imperialists to bring about diplomatic or military intervention with the aid of the so-called Treaty of Residence and Navigation,* since it removes any pretext that authorized organs of power are non-existent.

Democratic Content

The Cuban Constitution of 1940 may be characterized as progressive in its general content and even in some respects truly advanced.

From the political standpoint it follows the classic course of bourgeois-democratic constitutions, at the same time establishing a liberty and the limitation of that liberty. Thus it is possible to have a constitution with the most beautiful declarations about freedom, political rights, democracy and popular sovereignty, and, at the same time, with all the actual guarantees necessary to nullify these declarations.

For example, the Constitution proclaims the free organization of political parties, but it immediately stipulates that no party may be organized which cannot enlist 2 per cent of the electorate; that any party is illegal which is against the representative regime of the republic; and that it is not permissible to organize parties on the basis of class, sex, or race—all of which contradicts, limits and restricts the first proposition.

In the same way the right of assembly is proclaimed, with the limitation of public order and the corresponding legal norms.

On the one hand, all public liberties are established, and, on the other, the suspension of all of them is authorized during exactly those times when there is greatest need for constitutional guarantees.

Equality for Negroes and Whites

Article 21 says: "Every discrimination because of sex, race, color, class or any other thing harmful to human dignity is declared illegal and punishable. The law will establish the penalties for those who go against this precept."

There is no constitution in the capitalist world which has such an article establishing equality of races. The inclusion of this article was a great success for the U.R.C., which, pressing with all its force for an even more decisive declaration, succeeded in having its point of view expressed in the adopted article.

From the viewpoint of the establishment of classic liberties in regard to the representative organizations of the state, through equal and secret ballot for all citizens—men and women, over twenty years

* A sort of Platt Amendment put forth in advance of the adoption of the Constitution.

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old—the Cuban Constitution is fully democratic within the bourgeois concept of democracy.

Popular Welfare

In the section on social rights, which did not exist in the previous Cuban constitutions, substantial gains of the working masses were established legislatively.

The most outstanding provisions of this part of the Constitution are: the fixing of paid vacations in such a form as cannot be disregarded without violation of the law and of their obligatory extension to all industries, pay for holidays, and the forty-four-hour week. These were the measures most intensely fought by the conservative and reactionary parties of the Right.

Other notable advances are the recognition of the right to strike, no dismissal from work without proof of due cause, guarantees for the right of trade union organization, the articles relating to the system of collective contracts, maternity protection and the obligation to train apprentices, together with other demands of the young people who fought so vigorously for this Constituent Assembly. Finally, there is the provision for social security, including means for protection of the unemployed.

Farmers' Demands

In the provisions in regard to property the advances were less great, if we remember that the principal task was to formulate the principles of agrarian reform and of native industrial development during the reorganization of Cuban economy, with the aim of shaking off foreign domination.

Nevertheless, the principle of state intervention in economy was incorporated in the text of the Constitution, as were also the legal regulation of rental contracts, the fixing of maximum rent and minimum duration, the limitation of *latifundia* (large landed estate), abolition of permanent ground rent, restriction of landholdings by foreigners, and other important demands. In this connection, the greatest revolutionary gain is the prohibition for two years of dispossession of farms, which was embodied in a provisional article. Another provisional article of great importance is that which settles the issue of the mortgage moratorium. Although it is against the interests of some middle-sized investors, it deals in return a heavy blow to the foreign bankers, to the native loan sharks and big mortgage-holders of the type of Ernesto Sarrá, and to a whole band of unconscionable exploiters. This article, on the other hand, favors a great many people of the middle class, debtors and installment buyers of small housing lots. As a timid advance somewhat ahead of the 1901 Constitution, the Assembly approved the retroactivity of civil law, though in such form that it is the same as if it had been prohibited.

In spite of its general lack of concreteness in economic matters, the Constitution achieved, nevertheless, provisions that permit and facili-

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tate executive and legislative action toward effective economic liberation of Cuba. Provisions are made for backing up a reorganization of Cuban economy, diversifying its agriculture, extending its industrial production, and, in fact, ending the country's dependence practically on a single product.

Other Advances

Important points of advance in other respects are the recognition of the equality of women; the limitation of the death penalty; the establishment of equality, up to a certain point, of children born in or out of legal wedlock.

Also in cultural matters—teachers' salaries, character of instruction, etc.—there were important gains. In matters relating to municipal government, the towns are granted wide autonomy, though a little burdened with academic details.

Of great significance is the constitutional text condemning wars of aggression and declaring that the aspiration of the Cuban people is to live in peace. Although, simply as a principle, this guarantees nothing; it can serve as a point of support in the struggle against the imperialist war.

Shortcomings

Notwithstanding these advances, the reactionary elements did achieve some successes. For instance, a worker who is a Cuban citizen has the right, at least theoretically, to hold the office of governor, representative, or municipal councilor; yet, he is barred, if he is not native-born—and merely for that reason—from holding any official position in a union organized to defend his own interests against the employer. They also succeeded in incorporating a constitutional authorization of the lock-out, and an insufficiently precise guarantee of the right of the workers to federate and confederate.

Other shortcomings and setbacks are the excessive regulation in educational and municipal matters, which makes difficult the application of the fundamental gains, and the provision of personal benefits for some individuals.

The new articles concerning the retroactivity of civil laws send us back almost to the criterion of 1901, which established the unchangeable character of contracts no matter how one-sided and terrible their conditions might be. Setbacks, too, are the articles concerning compensation, in advance, for expropriation; concerning the negation of the right of the state to confiscate property; concerning limitations of the right to form political parties, and other questions less important.

Absent from the Constitution were: decisive, economic measures for the division of land to the farmers, provision for the right of the state to operate enterprises that do not comply with social legislation, and limitations of the salaries of public employees to 300 pesos a month. These omissions were all partial victories of the conservatives and reactionaries. They are

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not, though, in spite of their importance, sufficiently decisive to negate the general progressive content of the 1940 Constitution, which responds in broad terms to the triple slogan of *Democracy, Popular Welfare and Defense of National Economy.*

Toward Further Advance

The Constitution of 1940 is a popular victory which means an advance from those of 1901 and 1935, opening perspectives for the effective liberation of the country, and permitting us to go forward more rapidly toward a constitution a thousand times better than this one —a constitution which will establish, not formal equality, but the suppression of the exploitation of man by man, where the ownership of the means of production is declared collective, where land will be given to all the farmers of Cuba, where a real socialist state organization will be established to assure a government actually of the people, by the people, and for the people.

On another score, it is necessary to emphasize the importance of this Constitution of 1940 in the struggle against involvement of Cuba in the imperialist war. This struggle is being carried on; but it must be strengthened every day against the advance of the whirlwind which threatens to extend itself, as in 1914, to the whole world.

To struggle against every attack on wages and salaries is one way of struggling against the war. To struggle for the principles of national liberation, for the independence of Cuba, for resistance to imperialism is also to struggle against the imperialist war.

Hence, to struggle for the new Constitution, for its application and enforcement is, to sum up, a very effective way to struggle against the war.

Unity of Latin America

Noteworthy, too, is the importance of the Cuban Constitution for the popular movement in Latin America.

While the imperialisms, particularly the Yankee and the British imperialisms, redouble their efforts to intensify our oppression, in all of our countries there is developing a vigorous national revolutionary movement. It is directed, first of all, to the defeat of these criminal forces of foreign oppression. The vigorous examples of the people's advance in Mexico and Chile have given impulse to this movement. The Constitution of Cuba, the discussion of which was broadcast by radio throughout the Continent, contains such positive affirmations for anti-imperialist struggle that it provides new encouragement for the growth of the popular revolutionary movement, not only in Latin American countries, but in the United States itself. The people of the United States are becoming convinced more and more that by supporting the demand for complete liberation of our countries they can help to liberate themselves from the oppression of the trusts and of the banks—from the heartless capital-

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ism that is leading them into war.

The Cuban Constitution of 1940 should serve as a powerful force toward uniting all peoples of the Americas—especially those of Latin America—against reaction, against imperialist war, against the intrigues of the imperialists.

Class Forces in the Assembly

In the light of the generally progressive character of the Constitution, the question arises: How was it possible for the Constituent Assembly, with an evident conservative majority, to vote for the Constitution we are here discussing?

Actually, if we examine attentively the composition of the preponderant section of the Assembly, we find undoubtedly a majority of great landholders who form the bulk of the Assembly, and who are naturally conservative. At their side and reinforcing them, we find the direct and indirect representatives of the sugar mill owners. Partially opposed to both groups but also with a conservative viewpoint, we find elements more or less representative of foreign oligarchic finance capital.

We cannot express this composition by its party content or even by majority or minority considerations, since the characteristic of all the parties—excepting the coalition Union Revolutionary-Communist Party—is that they are always directed by a bourgeois and latifundist oligarchy, with variations in the proportion in which these two branches are represented in the leadership of the particular parties and with the inclusion of some representation of the middle class of the cities.

In passing, we should emphasize the weakness of the representation of industrialists other than the sugar industrialists. This perhaps explains the content of the section relating to economics and labor.

The fact, theoretically established by us, of the extreme weakness of the Cuban bourgeoisie was astoundingly confirmed in the Assembly.

Anyone who followed the work of the Assembly may have observed the following characteristics of its deliberations:

1. Lack of cohesion and unity among the representatives of each party (except the U.R.C.) since the interests they represented were contradictory.

2. The most incredible instability in the attitudes of the majority of the delegates, who one day defended a conservative or reactionary proposal and the next day voted for a progressive, advanced motion. This allowed us to observe the constant contradictions in many of the delegates between their political interests, as men who need popular support, and their conservative class interests, opposed to the people.

3. As a consequence of this, a conservative front could not be consolidated, and all the attempts made behind the patrioteering motions of Chibás, Aurelio Alvarez, and José Manuel Casanova (president, National Association of Sugar Mill Owners), ended in a fiasco.

These were the conditions which permitted the enormous popular

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pressure—expressed through thousands of letters and telegrams to each delegate and through mass concentrations over the entire island—that obliged the Assembly to produce the Constitution of 1940.

The Constitution was discussed in the Capitol, but it was made in the street by workers, by farmers, by the Negro masses, by the professionals, who influenced the delegates in every way. We must appreciate, as a determining factor in the formation of the Constitution, the enormous mobilization of *the masses* before and during the elections for delegates to this Assembly, which expressed, in concrete demands, their aspirations for improvement and progress.

We remember the marvelous mass meetings in which from sixty to seventy thousand people took part, the trade union assemblies, the farmers' meetings, the mobilization of the Negro societies, the congresses of women and young people, the great May First parade; the large vote which the U.R.C. received, manifesting the radicalization of the masses. Thus, we understand the irresistible pressure which the conservative majority in the Assembly had bearing down upon it, compelling it to vote for a progressive constitution.

In any event, the deliberations of the Assembly exposed before wide masses, in city and country, the true face of certain parties and politicians. The P.R.C. *(Auténticos)*, divided in every discussion, split its vote between reactionary and popular propositions, showing that among them no such ideological or even programmatical unity exists as that which they have been proclaiming so emphatically, and that the leadership goes more and more into the hands of the reactionaries and today tends toward a Rightist position against the approved Constitution.

Independent Role of the U.R.C.

It is necessary in the same way to point out the unvarying conduct and the independence of judgment maintained by our coalition party from the first to the last day of the Assembly. On the very first day the position of the U.R.C. was stated in an independent declaration, while the Authentic Party delegation allowed itself to get mixed up with the reactionary-opposition-ist bloc in a single common declaration. There were numerous moments in which, disagreeing with our allies, the Socialist Democratic Coalition,* the U.R.C. delegates were left alone in the Assembly, but not even such a circumstance made them yield in the slightest their independent point of view.

The participation of the Union Revolutionary-Communist Party in a Constituent Assembly whose sessions were broadcast from start to finish has served to let the people know more thoroughly what that party is, its program and its ideology. The lies and deceits fell apart under the blows of reality. The people saw very clearly that the U.R.C. did not want social di-

* The composite title adopted by the parties supporting Batista.

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visions, but worked for the unity of the people, ending all discrimination against any part of the people; that this party was the champion of the defense of the national economy; that it was the party which kept up an unflinching line of defense, honestly and bravely, for popular interests.

The attitude of the U.R.C. delegation, unreservedly relying on wide mobilization of popular masses, contributed powerfully to the general tone of the Constitution and achieved the incorporation of not a few advanced precepts, especially as to labor and property rights.

For the Application of the New Constitution

A new slogan arises naturally out of the present concrete conditions: *For the Application of the New Constitution! For the Passing of Complementary Laws!*

This new slogan must appear in all mass demands for advances for the people, for the reorganization of Cuban economy, for keeping Cuba out of the imperialist war.

Behind it must be mobilized, not only the U.R.C. but also all the people, in order to assure its realization.

An indispensable and urgent complementary law which must be brought out in propaganda is one on social security, to guarantee immediate aid for the thousands and thousands of unemployed in city and country.

Three commissions should be organized immediately to study complementary laws and to prepare drafts at once, in order to be able to present them as soon as Congress goes into session, and to make certain of their discussion and immediate approval. These three commissions to take charge of:

1. Individual rights;
2. Social rights;
3. Problems of economics and public finance.

On the carrying into effect of this program depends the fate of the Cuban Constitution of 1940 and, even more important, the fate of the popular and revolutionary movement.

The U.R.C. has shown that it knows how to carry out faithfully and with honor the tasks that it undertakes for the good of the people. It has shown that it knows how to win basic battles against reaction, advancing in this way toward the decisive struggle for the people's victory.

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THE BRITISH COMMUNIST PARTY LEADS THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE IMPERIALIST WAR

(On the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Great Britain in August, 1920.)

BY R. PALME DUTT

THE twentieth anniversary of the Communist Party of Great Britain takes place in a situation which justifies all teachings of communism and in which the salvation of humanity depends on the leadership of communism. The present is no time for idle commemorations. But this twentieth anniversary of the Communist Party is no idle commemoration: it is the sharpest reminder of the most urgent lessons and moods which go to the heart of the present situation, and of issues which hold in the scales the balance of life or death for millions of human beings and for the future of human society.

In other times this twentieth anniversary might have been celebrated with greater freedom of pageantry and procession, with larger amplitude of unhindered demonstrations to testify the enthusiasm of the working class for its political party, forged through two decades of struggle, and its daily paper maintained in the teeth of a thousand obstacles. But the storm and stress of the present period is in reality the best and truest setting for this twentieth anniversary. The Communist Party was born out of the deep crisis of the old society and the old labor movement which began with the first imperialist war. It enters on its twentieth anniversary in the midst of the second imperialist war, and a visibly developing new world revolutionary wave which bears on its crest the issue of capitalism or socialism for the leading countries of the world.

The Communist Party approaches its greatest task, for which all these twenty years have been a preparation. To turn aside for a moment from comment on the current flux of events, in order to draw the lesson of these twenty years, is not in fact to draw aside from the current situation, but to draw closer to it. The completion of these twenty years affords the occasion, not for retrospect—there is no time for this—but for a mountain-top view of

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the whole epoch through which we have traveled and are traveling in order to burn out all pettiness and weakness of vision and temper, and illuminate anew with greater certainty and confidence than ever before our historic role.

The Communist Party was the child of the general crisis of capitalism which began with the war of 1914 and has developed continuously since. The war of 1914 not only demonstrated the bankruptcy of the old capitalist society, which was rotten ripe for destruction and for the transition to socialism. It also demonstrated the bankruptcy of the old labor movement, which was incapable of carrying through the necessary change. The present war of 1939 broke upon a world which had already lost all confidence in stability, was growing hardened to violence and catastrophic change, and was profoundly conscious of the revolution maturing and advancing in its midst. The transition from the partial state of war preceding 1939 to the extended war which opened in 1939 and which only stage by stage unfolded its character and is now developing toward world war, was not a sudden break, but a step in a continuous process, and not an unexpected step.

But the war of 1914 was a real watershed dividing the old and the new. It broke upon a world in which all sections save the revolutionary Marxists were completely unconscious of the character of the historical epoch in which they were living, were swimming in a sea of illusions, and for whom the outbreak of war and its consequences came like the end and the shattering of the whole world they had known.

It is only necessary to survey the pre-1914 literature of the British labor movement, of the Fabians and Liberal-Socialists who dominated its ideology and guided its leadership, to realize the bland, complacent, self-satisfied blindness and fantastic inappropriateness of its world conceptions (or rather, absence of any world conceptions save the philistine assumption of the permanence of the institutions within which its pretty schemes of reforms were elaborated) in contrast to the realities which followed. Only revolutionary Marxism correctly diagnosed the epoch and—in the one country where it led the labor movement—rode the storm. In the other countries the war was a shattering blow which compelled a complete new facing of the problems of the labor movement. The outcome of this new awakening was the foundation of the Communist Party.

The very conditions of the preceding epoch which had been correctly diagnosed by Marxism had, at the same time, corrupted and undermined its influence in the labor movement. Therefore the first imperialist war, which should have led —had the subjective conditions been ready—to the victory of the working class revolution in all the countries of Europe, could only lead to the first step, the reawakening and organizational separation of revolutionary Marxism in preparation for what was to follow. It remained

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for the second imperialist war to complete the process in the realm of action.

The foundation of the Communist Party was thus the answer of the militant working class to a historic bankruptcy, and the one positive outcome achieved by the working class in the capitalist world from the war of 1914 and the defeat of the revolutionary strivings which followed it. The Communist Party was founded in 1920. It was founded, that is to say, after the completion of the first imperialist war, and after the revolutionary wave which followed the war had already reached its highest point and was approaching its end.

The establishment of the Councils of Action in August, 1920, which coincided with the foundation of the Communist Party, and which openly challenged the power of the British capitalist state and government and forced its temporary retreat from its war plans against the Russian workers' state, is the last high point of the revolutionary wave which followed the war. Thereafter followed the economic crisis and mass unemployment which began in the winter of 1920, and the low point of Black Friday in the spring of 1921.

In the first number of *Labor Monthly* which appeared in July, 1921, the lessons of Black Friday were still the center of discussion. The Communist Party thus came into existence at the close of a revolutionary period, not at its beginning. It could not lead the revolutionary movement which followed the war. It could only draw and embody the lessons for the future. Hence the long period of upward struggle through which it had to pass before the situation began to open out anew. Hence the significance of the present anniversary which falls in the midst of the new cycle of wars and revolutions now developing.

All the lessons of the preceding years were embodied in the foundation of the Communist Party. The war of 1914 had shattered the illusions of peaceful progress within capitalist society. It had proved in the eyes of all thoughtful workers the complete and unmitigated failure of the old forms and leadership of the labor movement, which had neither been able to prevent the mutual slaughter of millions of workers, nor to utilize the result of the crisis to lead the rising anger and struggle of the workers against capitalism, but had actually become the bulwark of capitalism against the working class. It became clear that a new departure was necessary, that the problem of a political party of the working class capable of leading the struggle against capitalism had not been solved by the foundation of the Labor Party, but had still to be solved.

In the long preceding period of relatively peaceful legal conditions in the metropolitan centers of imperialism (with the wars and open violence transferred to the colonial periphery, only later to return from thence with a hundredfold increased intensity), the whole routine, organization, outlook and leadership of the traditional labor movements of the leading countries of imperialism

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had become intertwined with the old corrupt dying society, and therefore completely incapable of conducting a basic offensive against it when the mood arose. The war of 1914 dealt a shattering blow (though not yet the final blow) to the illusions which had overgrown and permeated the old labor movement. It laid bare the jungle-horrors of the dying capitalist regime dragging mankind into the abyss. It revealed with burning illumination (later to be reinforced by the example of the Russian revolution) the task of international socialism, of the working class revolution, as the only power to save mankind.

But the shattering of the old illusions and the laying bare of the only path forward did not and could not of itself create the readiness and capacity of the working class to fulfil its historic role, where the working class had not evolved beforehand the requisite organization and leadership for the achievement of its revolutionary task. Only in that country where, owing to a series of exceptional conditions (including the weakness of imperialism and the strength of revolutionary traditions), the working class had been able to evolve its revolutionary Marxist party and leadership, closely linked up with and leading the mass movement, only there was the working class able to conquer power and advance to socialism. In the other countries the experience of the war and of the years succeeding the war was an experience of defeat. The militant workers drew the lesson.

In Britain and in every country the militant workers in the post-war period set themselves the task of building their Communist Party.

The significance of the foundation of the Communist Party in Britain in 1920, as the most important step of the militant workers since the days of Chartism to break decisively with the weaknesses of the intervening period of the labor movement, and lead the way forward to the working class revolution, will be finally proved, not by assertion, but by the only valid test—its historical outcome. Because the Communist Party was a living growth, a living expression and outcome of the whole preceding experience of the working class movement, therefore the Communist Party did not come into being ready formed and complete, but grew out of the preceding elements and groupings with all their weaknesses, which still only partly expressed the striving of the working class towards revolutionary policy and organization, and had to find its way forward through struggle, through mistakes, through trial and error, to forge the first nucleus of a revolutionary party of the working class. The history of this process, which is still going forward to its final conclusion, is the history of these two decades, which are rich in a thousand experiences of the forming and molding from the original heterogeneous elements of a disciplined and experienced political vanguard of the working class.

The Communist Party was at once a reassertion of all that was best and strongest in the tradition of the

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old working class movement, and a decisive break with all the enemy influences, imperialist corruption and political and organizational vices which were strangling the old movement.

It was a reassertion of the revolutionary traditions and aspirations which in the days of Chartism had placed the British working class in the vanguard of the international working class and had helped to form the theory of Marx and Engels, and which in the subsequent period had been temporarily suffocated by the corruption of the capitalist world monopoly.

It was a reassertion of the aims and strivings of the early Socialist pioneers, of whom the best and truest representative, Tom Mann, carried forward the banner to his honored place on the Central Committee of the Communist Party. It was a reassertion of the program of Marxism, which had been thrust aside by the miserable tenth-rate substitutes of Fabianism, MacDonaldism and similar milk-and-water rehashes of liberal capitalist humbug.

It was a reassertion of the militancy and class-conscious awakening which had been expressed in the pre-1914 labor unrest and in the shop stewards movement during the war. It was a break with the Liberal-Labor corruption, the parliamentary cretinism, the narrow craft trade unionism and sectionalism, the jingoism, white chauvinism and national insularity, the snobbery and tailing after the capitalist class, which had disgraced the dominant section of the old labor movement and brought it to impotence and disaster.

The founders and early builders of the Communist Party were inspired by the now basic conception which their whole experience of the preceding years had taught them. They understood that the epoch which had opened with the war of 1914 was a revolutionary epoch; that imperialism could offer nothing but chronic decay, deepening crisis, wars and catastrophe to mankind; but the task before the working class was the task of destroying capitalism and establishing their own revolutionary dictatorship in order to build socialism with the minimum of delay and suffering; and that every phase and aspect of the working class struggle, and every section of the working class army needed to be subordinated to this supreme aim. Had that understanding been shared by the whole working class movement two decades ago, had the lying deceptions of capitalist revival and reconstruction, stabilization, Fordism, Mondism, organized capitalism, and the inevitability of gradualness and all the rest of the infamous frauds and quackery to conceal the real decay had been thrust aside, there would be a different situation today.

Second, they understood that the working class could only unite its ranks, conquer capitalism, win and maintain power, and construct socialism by means of and under the leadership of a centralized revolutionary political party of the working class, based on the theory of

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Marxism, drawing into its ranks all the most resolute, courageous and politically enlightened class-conscious workers, building and training the vanguard, rooted in the factories and the mass organizations of the working class, linked with the mass movement and with all sections of the working people in every phase of the struggle, capable of defending the everyday interests of the working people and advancing to the defeat of capitalism and the final victory of socialism.

They understood that the question of building such a party is in the present epoch a life and death question of the labor movement. They understood that the old, loose "trinity" of the sectional trade unions with their narrow economist outlook, of the federal Labor Party based on the trade unions, and with its theoretical anarchy at the mercy of every capitalist influence, and of the cooperatives dominated by capitalist "business" conceptions, was incapable of standing up to the powerful centralized machine of modern monopoly capital and its state; and that all these sections of the working class could only realize their role and become part of an integrated working class movement through the leadership of a Marxist party of the working class able to draw together every section in a common aim and strategy.

The whole history of these twenty years, of the parliamentary Labor Party, of the two Labor governments, of the betrayal of the General Strike, of the record of the General Council, of the economic and political defeats and strengthening of capitalist reaction, have proved the truth of this.

Third, they understood that the struggle of the working class is today in the fullest and most practical sense international: that "Socialism in Europe has outlived that comparatively peaceful stage when it was confined within the narrow boundaries of nationality" (Lenin); that only the unity of the working class in all the capitalist countries, together with the colonial peoples, can defeat the power of imperialism; and that the party of the working class requires to be an international party, not a loose, federal association of autonomous units tied to their different capitalist masters and flying asunder at the first touch of crisis, but a centralized, international party under a single centralized leadership. The truth of this has been abundantly demonstrated through these twenty years, and is most powerfully demonstrated today in the present war. The phantom of a reconstructed Second International which dragged along a tenuous ghostly existence during these two decades has not merely collapsed with the present war; it has gone right out of business, and lost even the show of a basis of organization, now that the French partner has joined up with fascism (the entry of Bolin, Assistant Secretary of the C.G.T. [Confédération Générale du Travail] into the Pétain government). The Communist International not only goes forward united and strong, and with increased strength in the storm of the war, it is today the only interna-

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tional organization in the world, with sections in every country and corner of the globe following a single leadership and a single policy; the sole unifying force of the human race in triumphant demonstration of working class internationalism in the midst of the chaos of world anarchy: the hope of mankind.

All these basic conceptions of the Communist Party have had to battle a long and steadily winning battle against the myriad, deadly ingrained illusions, confusions and distortions of the old labor movement. All have been justified and vindicated by the whole history of these two decades. An enormous and now antiquated controversy followed the first foundation of the Communist Party. Revolution or gradual reform; working class dictatorship or evolutionary socialism; civil war or peaceful progress: these were the themes propounded by the pundits of the Labor Party and the Independent Labor Party, the MacDonalds and Snowdens (whose second-rate progeny now occupy the seats of leadership of the Labor Party).

With sanctimonious superiority the champions of capitalist influence in the labor movement, before finally joining up with the Conservative Party, denounced communism and the Communist Party; they derided the revolutionary romanticism of the Communists, and proclaimed that the ebb of the revolutionary tide proved that revolution was an obsolete anachronism; they painted glowing pictures of the glorious future opening out before capitalism on the basis of the new technical advance and higher organized development; they demonstrated how capitalism was becoming daily more democratic and how all progress must be gradual; with odd reminiscences of student courses in biology they disproved Marxism; they inveighed against the horrors of bloodshed and civil war, and when Lenin warned the British workers to prepare for a perspective, not of easy parliamentary victories, but of heavy civil war, they licked their lips and felt that their case was proved, and that in the eyes of all sober, intelligent, God-fearing citizens communism was revealed as a nightmare.

Today these controversies are dead: capitalism itself has killed them. The authors of the "British school of socialism" went to their last home in the House of Lords, and ended up as protagonists of a Tory government imposing the Means Test on the workers in order to hold together the shattered fabric of capitalism in crisis. Their idyllic vision of the peaceful progress of democratic capitalism has vanished into limbo, as democracy has given place to fascism in country after country, and capitalism leads the world in a devil's dance of barbarism and mass murder. Who dares now paint the horrors of working class revolution, which could have long ago won peace and freedom for all peoples, when capitalism soaks the earth with the bloodshed of a new world war, and the sober, intelligent, God-fearing citizens scurry to their non-existent shelters from the rain of death from the

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bombing planes? Who dares now rattle the specter of civil war when even the sorry apologists of imperialist war seek to glorify their hideous holocaust for the profit of the millionaires with the lying appellation of an "international civil war"?

In the wake of carnage, the shadow of famine descends over western Europe. Only in eastern Europe communism has brought peace, stability and abundance. The wheel has come full circle. The task of revolution was not avoided by evading it. It returns with all the greater insistence the longer it is postponed. Every prophecy, prediction and warning of communism has been fulfilled. In the midst of the storm of war and the break-up of the old capitalist order communism comes into its own, and is revealed as the only path of freedom, peace and sanity for the world.

Today in consequence we draw the lessons of this anniversary, not in dwelling on the past, but in looking to the present and the future. All these twenty years have only been preparation for the greatest tasks and responsibilities that now fall to the working class and the Communist Party in this deepest crisis of the capitalist order which is tearing the world to pieces in the present war. Will the working class of Britain, of France, of Germany be ready and able in time to accomplish their task before the deepest abyss of destruction, misery and enslavement has been reached? Will they prevail to win the way from this war to the victory of the working class and socialism? This is the one question which matters today, which dominates every other. This we know: there is no other way out; every delay only brings greater suffering and makes more urgent and insistent the task. Every development of the crisis of capitalism makes more emphatic the need of a powerful Communist Party leading the mass movement as the vital need of the whole labor movement.

We have already had to pay dear for the absence of such a mass Communist Party leading the labor movement in this country. It has already cost two wars; and this is not the end, till the lesson be learned. In the midst of the conditions of war we need more than ever to build up the strength of the Communist Party. We need to awaken the whole working class movement to independence and renewed struggle. Widely and still more widely our agitation on all the burning issues, great and small, which face the people today needs to reach out to all sections and build up the united movement of the people led by the working class.

In the conditions of war, courageous struggle, initiative, limitless energy and sacrifice, confidence in the strength of the workers, the spirit that gives way before no obstacles—these are the conditions of victory.

The Communists need to be able to guide the mass movement stage by stage, from the first beginnings of confused awakening and groping, to understand the feel-

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ings of the people, to express their real deepest aspirations against the lies and distortions of the official propaganda, to advance those slogans which carry forward the movement at the given stage of development, which awaken the consciousness of the people, tear down illusions, lay bare the gulf between the interests of the people and the ruling class, and build up the unity and solidarity of the working people to defend their own interests and advance to take their fate into their own hands. The unity of the mass movement and communism: herein lies the urgent need of the labor movement, the one way forward, the solution of all the problems which today more than ever before carry with them the issues of life or death for the people.

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LENIN AT THE SECOND WORLD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

BY A. ACKERMANN

JULY of this year marked the twentieth anniversary of the opening of the Second World Congress of the Communist International. On July 19, 1920, Lenin delivered his historic speech on the world situation and the fundamental tasks of the Communist International. The days on which the Second Congress was held are among the most momentous in the history of the Communist International, and the resolutions adopted at that Congress among the most important of the world Party of Communism.

The Special Role and Significance of the Second Congress

The Second Congress of the Communist International met at the time when capitalism was passing through the first period of its general crisis, the period of acute post-war crisis of capitalism and of direct revolutionary action on the part of the proletariat.

In Soviet Russia the workers' and peasants' power, which had smashed the forces of Kolchak, Yudenich and Denikin, was gaining in strength and becoming stabilized. In the weeks during which the Congress was in session the Red Army was advancing in Poland, while in the south Wrangel was marshalling his bands and preparing to launch a new offensive against the Soviet Republic. At the time of the Second Congress the civil war and foreign intervention had not yet been brought to an end, but the efforts of the counter-revolution were obviously petering out, and the consolidation of the Soviet rule became an undeniable fact.

The sympathy of the masses for the Soviet Republic was manifesting itself on an ever-larger scale in every country of the world. In a number of countries this sympathy expressed itself in active struggle to hinder further military intervention. As Lenin said at the time: "The international bourgeoisie has only to raise its hand against us to have it seized by its own workers."

The working class in the capitalist countries drew strength from the example provided by Russia, where the workers, in alliance with the peasant masses, had overthrown the rule of the bourgeoisie and estab-

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lished their own power. But towards the end of the World War, and during the period of the revolutionary struggle that followed, the workers in Central and Western Europe were still largely under the influence of the Social-Democratic leaders—the Eberts, Scheidemanns, Kautskys, Hilferdings, Otto Bauers, Hendersons, Legiens, Jouhaux, etc. That is the basic reason why the first revolutionary struggles for the overthrow of capitalism in those countries, particularly in Germany, ended in defeat.

The lessons which the workers were bound to draw from this was that where the working class was united and led by a real Bolshevik Party the revolution was victorious, while in those countries where the majority of the working class followed the Social-Democratic Party the revolutionary struggles ended in defeat, followed by terrible reprisals against the revolutionary workers.

But these defeats did not signify the end of the revolutionary upsurge. The revolutionary workers rallied around the Communist International in ever-larger numbers, and in many countries (particularly in Germany in connection with the Kapp putsch, and in Italy) the revolutionary tide was still rising.

This widespread revolutionary upsurge and the successes scored by the Soviet power in the struggle against its enemies had enabled the Communist International to achieve splendid results during the period after the First Congress. Everywhere the best representatives and the most courageous champions of the working class had declared in favor of the Communist International and accepted its program. Whereas at the time of the First Congress of the Communist International there had existed only Communist trends and groups in the majority of the capitalist countries, by the time of the Second Congress, Communist parties and organizations had been formed in most of the countries.

At the Second Congress Lenin said:

"We can proudly say: At the First Congress we were really only propagandists, we only sowed among the proletariat of the whole world the main idea, we only issued the call for the struggle, we only asked—where are the people who are capable of taking this path? Now, however, we have an advanced proletariat everywhere. Everywhere we have a proletarian army, although sometimes badly organized, needing reorganization; and if our international comrades now help us to organize a united army, no shortcomings will hinder us in the pursuit of our cause. And this cause is the world proletarian revolution, the cause of creating a world-wide Soviet Republic. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. X, p. 199.)

At the time of the Second Congress, there was a revolutionary situation in a number of countries, and this formed the basis for the revolutionary action of the Communist Parties. The main task confronting the Communist Parties at that time was to fight for the lead-

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ership of the masses and to prepare them for the impending great revolutionary struggles. It was necessary to equip the young Communist Parties ideologically, politically and organizationally, to equip them with the vast experience of the Bolshevik Party, and to intensify the struggle to overcome the traditions of Social-Democratism. The Second Congress focussed its main attention on the struggle for the application of the lessons drawn from the experience of the Bolshevik Party by the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries. It was necessary to help these parties assimilate the fundamentals of Bolshevik strategy, tactics and organization, which, as Lenin said, "are a model for *all*" to follow.

At the very opening of his brilliant work, *"Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder,* written shortly before the Second Congress, Lenin made the following point:

"Now we already have very considerable international experience which very definitely establishes the fact that some of the fundamental features of our revolution have a significance which is not local, not peculiarly national, not Russian only, but international. I speak here of international significance not in the broad sense of the term: not a few, but all fundamental and many secondary features of our revolution are of international significance in regard to the influence it has upon all countries. I speak of it in the narrowest sense, *i.e.*, by international significance I mean the international validity, or the historical inevitability of a repetition on an international scale of what has taken place here, and it must be admitted that some of the fundamental features of our revolution possess such significance." (*Ibid.*, p. 57.)

The experience which the revolutionary workers in the capitalist countries had themselves gained in the great class battle up to the year 1920 showed them that Leninism must become *their* weapon, and Bolshevik strategy and tactics *their* strategy and tactics. Thus, under Lenin's leadership, the Second Congress marked the beginning of a vigorous struggle for the international consolidation and the ideological unity, on the basis of Leninism, of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries.

It was necessary to launch the struggle of the Communist International against opportunism and "Centrism" along the whole line; it was necessary to intensify, on a basis of principle, the fight between the camp of the proletarian revolution and the camp of the defenders of capitalism and bourgeois "democracy."

It was necessary to keep the opportunist and Centrist elements out of the Communist International, to intensify the struggle against the "Left" variety of opportunism, against the semi-anarcho-syndicalist and sectarian tendencies, while at the same time accelerating and intensifying the work of rallying the revolutionary workers under the banner of communism.

The Second Congress launched a struggle on two fronts. In this struggle Lenin's fundamental ideas

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triumphed along the whole line against the resistance of the opportunist, "Centrist" and "Left," confused and vacillating elements. As a result of this struggle by Lenin, the Second Congress marked a gigantic step forward in the history of the Communist International.

The Second Congress laid down the main lines to be pursued with regard to the principal tasks of the Communist International, the role and structure of the Communist Parties, the conditions of affiliation to the Communist International, the attitude of the Communists to the trade unions and to bourgeois parliamentarism, the national and colonial problems, and the agrarian and peasant problem.

Lenin's Analysis of the World Situation and Some Conclusions to Be Drawn for the Present

In his report on the international situation and the fundamental tasks of the Communist International, Lenin gave a masterly analysis of the characteristic features of the new historical situation created by the imperialist war of 1914-18.

Lenin analyzed the fundamental contradictions of post-war capitalism, which were at the root of the *general crisis of capitalism* and were intensifying as a result of this crisis. It was on the basis of this analysis that Lenin, founder of the Communist International and leader of the world proletariat, elaborated the uniform international strategy and tactics of the Comintern. After Lenin's death, Stalin continued the work of Lenin, constantly perfecting it in the struggle against all enemies of Leninism. The past twenty years of momentous historic development have fully confirmed the correctness of Lenin's prognosis at the Second Congress. His analysis of the international situation in 1920 gives us the key for an understanding of the essence of the present war, as a war among the imperialists for a new redivision of the world.

The experience of the first redivision of the world, brought about by the war of 1914-18, shows the working people throughout the world that all the talk about "war for freedom," or "war for the establishment of a new order," or "war for the realization of 'national' socialism" is vile humbug.

The experience of the first imperialist World War has shown that no imperialist "peace" can create conditions that would enable the masses to live in peace.

The system of international relations instituted by the imperialist victors in the war of 1914-18 was based on the Versailles Treaty and the League of Nations.

The Versailles Treaty, and the Covenant of the League of Nations connected with it, were extolled by their imperialist creators and by the social-imperialists of the Second International as the acme of wisdom, as the model of a "democratic peace," as a sure panacea against new wars, and as the source of new economic prosperity. How did it work out in actual fact, however?

"When the Covenant began to be put into force it turned out that an

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insignificant group of the richest countries, the 'fat four'—Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Orlando and Wilson—were put on the job of creating new relations! When the machinery of the Covenant was started it caused complete collapse!" (*Ibid.*, p. 109.)

In place of the promised disarmament there ensued intensified armament. In place of the "new organization" of Europe and the world there ensued the accentuation of all imperialist antagonisms, the conversion of the competition among the capitalist countries into a permanent commercial war. In place of the promised economic prosperity and well being of the workers there ensued crises, the plague of permanent mass unemployment, and the protracted agrarian crisis, bringing in their train misery and starvation for the workers and the ruin of millions of peasants. In the course of twenty years, the Versailles system fed the flames of chauvinism, particularly in Germany, which had been enslaved by its terms. This system was largely responsible for the fact that the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and imperialistic elements of finance capital came to power in a number of countries. The "glorious" result of the first imperialist war became the tinder which started the fire of the second imperialist war.

The parties of the Second International zealously did their share in heaping up the tinder for igniting the new imperialist war. To begin with, the Second International, when it was reconstituted at the conference in Berne, assumed full moral responsibility for the Versailles Treaty. Thereby it discredited the international labor movement in the eyes of the nationalistically incensed petty-bourgeois masses. As a result of this shameful policy large masses of backward sections of the toilers were driven into the arms of the wildest kind of chauvinism. In the course of the further development the parties of the Second International pursued in their respective countries a policy fully in line with the general imperialist policy of the Second International. The French "Socialists" demanded the "unconditional fulfilment" of the terms imposed by the Versailles Treaty; the British Laborites did their share in furthering the policy of their bourgeoisie which was designed to play off Germany and France against each other; the German Social-Democrats followed in the footsteps of their bourgeoisie, which speculated on the imperialist contradictions among the victor powers, and helped to shift the burden of the Versailles Treaty onto the shoulders of the workers and peasants. All that remained of the "internationalism" of this gang was their common animal hatred for socialism, for the Soviet Union, for the revolutionary working class and the Communist International. Blinded by this hatred they helped the National-Socialists to victory in Germany, betrayed Spain, disrupted the People's Front, and undermined the resistance of the masses to the impending second imperialist war in Europe.

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The Soviet Union came out against the Versailles system from the very outset. At a quite early date Lenin and Stalin predicted the inevitable bankruptcy of, and the dangers inherent in, that imperialist handiwork by which a crying injustice was committed against the nations concerned. Lenin and Stalin waged a determined struggle against the Versailles Treaty, and the Communist International has always tied up the struggle for peace with the struggle against the Versailles Treaty.

Amid the raging of the imperialist pack and the whooping of the social-imperialists the Communists alone held aloft the banner of proletarian internationalism in all countries and under all circumstances, championing the fraternal fighting alliance between the masses of the victor countries and those of the vanquished countries. In his theses on the national and colonial question for the Second Congress, Lenin wrote:

"The imperialist war of 1914-18 revealed the falsity of bourgeois-democratic phrases to all nations and to all the oppressed classes of the whole world with particular clarity, and proved that the Versailles Treaty of the notorious 'Western democracies' is a more brutal and despicable act of violence against weak nations than was the Brest-Litovsk Treaty of the German Junkers and the Kaiser." (*Ibid.*, p. 232.)

Today, when the second imperialist war is in full swing, and blood is again flowing in torrents, the workers and all the toilers can draw only one lesson from the misery of the first World War and the ruinous results of the Versailles Treaty: everything must be done to cut short this path of blood and suffering and to achieve such peace as, unlike the Versailles "peace," will not be the source of new disillusionments and new wars, but will accord with the interests of all working and disfranchised humanity.

"The working class is the only international class, a class which is solidly united by a community of interests of all its various national units and which is not interested in the seizure of colonies nor in the oppression of nationalities nor in the world supremacy of any of the imperialist powers.

"The working class is the most advanced class in society, whose mission it is to liberate itself and all laboring people from the yoke of capitalism which is the root cause of wars. It is the only class which is capable of uniting all sections of the laboring people, in each of the countries and internationally, in a common front against imperialist war, to rouse them to struggle against war and to organize and lead that struggle." (Georgi Dimitroff, *The Struggle Against the Imperialist War*, p. 10.)

The Struggle Against Social-Democratism

Lenin, during the Second Congress, directed the main fire against the Centrist variety of opportunism. This was dictated by the particular features of the situation at that time.

Large masses of workers had

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learned from the bitter experience of Social-Democratic rule and the policy of stifling the revolution. Revolutionary sentiments were rapidly developing among the workers, but there was a serious factor which hindered the work of imbuing these masses with a clear revolutionary consciousness. This factor was the policy of the Centrist leaders and parties, who cloaked themselves in red, but whose entire ideology and practice remained Social-Democratic. The Centrism of Crispien, Hilferding, Bauer, Longuet and their ilk became a screen to cover up the treachery of the overt Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders, such as Ebert, Henderson, Renaudel & Co. In order to triumph over the latter it was necessary to defeat the Centrists. This was the line Lenin pursued at the Second Congress.

Under pressure of the working class masses, who were moving in the direction of communism, a number of the major Social-Democratic parties, such as the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany, the Independent Labor Party in England and the French Socialist Party, had refrained from joining the Berne International. The Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany, which included a large number of revolutionary-minded workers, was carrying on negotiations with the Executive Committee of the Communist International with a view to affiliating to the Communist International, and had sent a delegation to the Second Congress. The Socialist Party of Italy had been officially affiliated to the Communist International from the time of its convention in Bologna (October, 1919); however, it had not yet rid itself of its strong openly opportunist wing (whose leader, Turati, was an avowed enemy of the Soviet Union and of the Communist International). The representatives of the Left wing of the French Socialist Party were also carrying on negotiations concerning their party's affiliation to the Communist International.

Some of the old leaders of the parties of the Second International tried to insinuate themselves into the Communist International, in order the easier to betray the workers, in the clandestine hope that they would be able to outwit the Third International, adulterate it and corrupt it with the poison of reformism, as the Bernsteins, Millerands, etc., had done with the Second International. They soon found out, however, that they could not play this trick on the Communist International.

Their maneuver was frustrated by the *Twenty-One Conditions for Affiliation to the Communist International,* the original draft of which had been elaborated by Lenin himself. The Second Congress refused to admit the parties which were dominated by the reformists. The *Twenty-One Conditions* became a weapon in the hands of the Communist International against the pernicious poison of Social-Democratism, and a means of purging the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries of their

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reformist elements and the "Left" adventurers.

At the Second Congress Lenin exposed the despicable game of some of the Centrist leaders, who recognized the dictatorship of the proletariat in words but did everything to falsify its revolutionary essence and actually defended, not the standpoint of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but that of bourgeois democracy, *i.e.*, the rule of finance capital.

Lenin put these phrasemongers in their place. He explained to the workers of all countries the revolutionary meaning of the dictatorship of the proletariat and showed the masses that, if the proletariat is to win in the struggle, it must resort to revolutionary force against the reactionary force of the bourgeoisie.

Lenin fought against admitting the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany into the Communist International; but at the same time he also came out against the "Left" proposals to break off negotiations with that party.

His tactics with regard to this question may be described as follows: The Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany is not a party worthy of being accepted into our International; for at bottom this party is not a revolutionary but a petty-bourgeois democratic party like the Social-Democratic Party of Germany. (In his *"Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder* Lenin says that "the parties both of Scheidemann and of Messieurs, the Kautskys and Crispiens, are petty-bourgeois democratic parties.") The Right wing of the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany, which influences the party in the spirit of Social-Democratism, is a trend alien and hostile to the Communist International. Still, this party includes a strong wing which is made up of scores of thousands of Left, revolutionary-minded workers. By carrying on negotiations with the leadership of the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany we have an opportunity of speaking to these masses, and *they* will understand us. At the same time we must continue to carry on a resolute struggle against the Right wing—the Centrists; for this will enable us to free the workers all the more quickly from the influence of Kautsky and Crispien.

In order to carry on the struggle against the leaders of Social-Democratism, the Communists must be found wherever these leaders speak to the masses. The Communists must maintain the closest contact with the masses and conduct systematic work inside the working class organizations, even the most reformist and reactionary among them.

That was why Lenin demanded at the Second Congress a clear answer to the question as to what should be the attitude of the Communists in Great Britain to the Labor Party. Lenin left no room for doubt as to what the Labor Party really represented:

". . . are out-and-out bourgeois party; for although it consists of workers it is directed by the reactionaries, and the worst kind of

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reactionaries to boot, quite in the bourgeois spirit, and, with the British Noskes and Scheidemanns, they systematically deceive the workers." (Lenin, "Speech on Affiliation to the British Labor Party, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXV.)

Lenin advised the English Communists: Join the Labor Party; don't have any illusions with regard to the role of this party, but join it in order to speak to the masses, in order to win them over and to defeat the leaders. Avail yourselves of the opportunity to criticize openly the Labor leaders, avail yourselves of the opportunity of spreading the truth in order to win the large masses of the British workers for the program of the Communist International.

The struggle against Social-Democratism can be waged successfully only by a revolutionary party which does not vacillate, which acts unitedly, and in solid ranks, which has unequivocally dissociated itself from opportunism and has purged its own ranks of opportunist elements. At the Second Congress Lenin demanded of all sections of the Communist International that they break with the opportunists immediately and unconditionally. He made it clear, particularly to the Italian delegates, that the further inclusion of the strong reformist and social-pacifist wing in their party was incompatible with its affiliation to the Communist International, and that the majority of the leadership and of the parliamentary group of the Italian Socialist Party did not conform to the trend of the Communist International.

Since the Second Congress, the leaders of the Social-Democratic parties have continued to sink lower and lower. Aware of their political bankruptcy, they are searching for a "new way" in the reactionary ideas and talk of a "democracy of leaders," "democracy free of Communists," and in "theories" whose nature and origin are well-known to the workers from the practice of their own countries which are under the heel of an open bourgeois-reactionary dictatorship. This was the policy pursued in the course of the present war by the Socialist leaders in France, where they clamored for the abrogation of popular rights and liberties, demanded that a White terror be unleashed against the workers and the friends of peace, and helped to bring the country to disaster.

Today, after twenty years of bitter experience, the Social-Democratic workers are in a position to understand much better why Lenin carried on such a severe and persistent struggle against the Social-Democratic leaders at the Second Congress of the Communist International (and, for that matter, always). Lenin probed the innermost essence of Menshevism, of Social-Democratism. He knew that Social-Democratism leads to the bankruptcy of the working class movement and the triumph of reaction. *In order to secure the revolutionary unity of the working class Lenin fought relentlessly against the leaders of Social-Democratism.*

Stalin, who has continued and enlarged upon Lenin's work, has

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helped the Communists everywhere to wage a successful struggle against Social-Democratism in all its varieties. Stalin's brilliant work, *Problems of Leninism,* and the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik),* which was produced with Comrade Stalin's direct cooperation and under his guidance, are today the most important theoretical weapons in the struggle against the influence of Social-Democratism within the working class.

The masses of the working class throughout the world must become aware that the reactionary Social-Democratic leaders and the influence of Social-Democratism upon the labor movement bear a large share of the responsibility for the outbreak of the present imperialist, reactionary war, and for the suffering this war has brought the workers and the people generally.

"Never during the two decades the Communist International has been in existence has the question of the liquidation of Social-Democratism in the working class movement been so acute as an immediate practical task as it is at the present time. Guided by the great teachings of Leninism, fulfilling the immortal behests of Lenin, who passionately called upon the workers of all countries to drive Social-Democratism from their midst, the Communists will fulfil this task and thereby hasten the emancipation of the working people from imperialist war, reaction and capitalism. (D. Z. Manuilsky, "Lenin Versus Social-Democratism," *Communist International,* No. 6, 1940, p. 369.)

Lenin's Fight Against Petty-Bourgeois Leftism

The young Communist Parties in Western Europe and America had risen on the wave of the revolutionary movement at the end of the first imperialist war. But this wave carried along a number of stray elements — adventurers, careerists, semi-anarchists, and syndicalists. The war had thrown the petty-bourgeoisie, too, out of its customary rut, and numerous petty-bourgeois elements had joined the proletarian organizations. These elements brought with them into the young Communist organizations the typical characteristics of the petty-bourgeoisie. In his *"Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder,* Lenin revealed the social roots of Leftism and the phenomena attending it.

Lenin dealt *concretely* with the phenomenon of Leftism which was rather widespread at the time. He stated and reiterated at the Second World Congress of the Communist International that even a section of the revolutionary-minded workers was not immune from the contagion of petty-bourgeois Leftism, that it partly fell under its influence as an exaggerated and accentuated reaction to the hateful opportunism of the Social-Democratic parties. The radicalization of the workers proceeded by such leaps and bounds that at the beginning they often tended toward the "Left" extreme.

Lenin pointed out that this "infantile disorder" cannot be overcome without *a very sharp struggle.* Lenin was anxious to help the rep-

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resentatives of this trend to realize their errors and mistakes and to correct them. He wanted to train them to become real Communists.

At the Second Congress Lenin carried on a particularly sharp struggle on the question of the role and tasks of the parties, on the question of the attitude of the Communists to the trade unions and to bourgeois parliamentarism. Lenin was particularly vehement in his denunciation of the "radical Lefts" in Germany, but he also attacked the Leftists in the Communist Parties of Switzerland, Holland, and some Communist organizations in Great Britain (the Workers' Socialist Federation and the Shop Steward Committee), and in America (the Industrial Workers of the World). He considered it correct and necessary to admit the Shop Steward movement and the Industrial Workers of the World to the Communist International, because they represented a thoroughly proletarian mass movement whose "Left" errors could be overcome in the course of the struggle and through the experience of mass work by means of a sharp fight against all sectarian tendencies.

In their hatred of the old opportunist parties the leaders of the Shop Steward Committee and of the Industrial Workers of the World repudiated all party organization, whereas the point was to create a *party of a new type* on the model of the Bolshevik Party.

In his *"Left-Wing" Communism an Infantile Disorder,* written before the Second Congress, Lenin gave an exhaustive reply to the question of the role of the trade unions in the class struggle of the proletariat and of the part they are to play after the seizure of power by the proletariat. In this book Lenin explained the entire mechanism of the relations between the party, the proletarian state, the trade unions and the Soviets as a mechanism by means of which the organized vanguard of the working class, the Party, leads the whole mass of the working people. Lenin condemned in the sharpest terms the tendency of many Communists in the capitalist countries to withdraw from the existing mass trade union organizations.

Lenin showed that by leaving the trade unions the Communists would render direct aid to the reformist leaders:

"To refuse to work in the reactionary trade unions means leaving the insufficiently developed or backward masses of the workers under the influence of the reactionary leaders, the agents of the bourgeoisie, the labor aristocrats, or the 'completely bourgeois workers.' (See Engels' letter to Marx, written in 1852, concerning the British workers.)" (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works,* Vol. X, p. 93.)

In the struggle on two fronts against the old opportunist parliamentarism and against the semi-anarchist tendencies of repudiating every sort of utilization of bourgeois parliamentarism for revolutionary purposes, Lenin clearly defined in his *"Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder* the attitude of the Communist Inter-

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national to bourgeois parliamentarism.

Lenin and the Bolshevik Party as a whole always regarded the revolutionary utilization of bourgeois parliaments, the participation of Communist Parties in parliamentary elections, as a means of enlightening the masses, of disseminating the views and the aims of the Bolsheviks among the masses, *as a means of preparing for the revolution.*

In the twenty years which have elapsed since the Second World Congress, the Communist International has made tremendous progress both politically and organizationally. On the whole, the Communist Parties have purged themselves of the Right opportunist rabble and of the "Left" phrasemongers. The foundations of the theory and practice of Bolshevism, the Bolshevik type of organization, have become the foundations of all the parties of the Communist International. But the process of the Bolshevization of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries is still far from completed. Despite many good examples and individual successes, many Communist Parties still suffer from organizational diffusiveness and the insufficient development of centralized party organizations.

* * *

The resolutions of the Second Congress on the *national and colonial question* serve as a beacon light for the oppressed nations, illuminating their path in the struggle for national and social emancipation. These resolutions also outline the leading role of the proletariat in this struggle.

"World imperialism must fall when the revolutionary onslaught of the exploited and oppressed workers in each country, overcoming the resistance of the petty-bourgeois elements and the influence of the small upper stratum of the labor aristocracy, will unite with the revolutionary onslaught of hundreds of millions of people who up to now have stood outside of history and have been regarded merely as the object of history." (*Ibid.*, p. 197.)

In the struggle against Menshevism and Centrist Austro-Marxism, and against the mistakes of Rosa Luxemburg and other "Lefts" committed on this important question, a question which is of vital significance at the present moment, Lenin and Stalin raised the policy of Marxism to a higher level, elaborating the theory, strategy and tactics of the revolutionary proletariat on the national and colonial question in the era of imperialism and of the general crisis of capitalism.

Lenin's struggle at the Second Congress of the Communist International against the then still persisting reformist ideas in the young Communist Parties also helped to overcome Social-Democratism on the agrarian and peasant question.

"The indifference and positive dislike displayed by the parties of the Second International towards the peasant question is not only to be explained by the particular conditions of development in the West. It is to be explained primarily by the fact that these parties do not believe in the dictatorship of the proletariat, that they fear revolu-

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tion and do not intend to lead the proletariat to power." (J. V. Stalin, *Leninism*, Vol. I, pp. 52-53.)

In the course of twenty years the Communist International has worked to overcome the various anti-Party tendencies on the peasant question, and in this fight it has assimilated Lenin's and Stalin's fundamental precepts for winning the peasant reserves to the side of the revolution.

* * *

The Second Congress became a powerful lever for the further growth of the world party of Lenin and Stalin. It marked a resolute step forward toward establishing firm unity and international discipline in the Communist International. It served to accelerate and extend the process of rallying the revolutionary workers under the banner of the Communist International. At the convention of the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany in Halle the majority voted for the acceptance of the *Twenty-one Conditions of the Communist International*, and the Left wing of the Independents united with the Communist Party of Germany, which thereby became a mass party. In Great Britain, the British Communist Party, the former Workers' Socialist Federation, the Communist Party of Scotland and the Shop Steward Committee, as well as a number of smaller Communist groups, combined in 1921 to form the United Communist Party of Great Britain. In Italy, after the convention of the Socialist Party in Livorno (January, 1921), which refused to expel Turati's group, a convention was held at which the Communist Party of Italy was founded. At the convention of the French Socialist Party at Tours (December, 1920), the overwhelming majority declared in favor of joining the Communist International. In the United States of America, the Communist Party and the Communist-Labor Party merged in 1921, to form the United Communist Party of the U. S. A. After the Second World Congress, Communist Parties were formed in all the principal countries of the world.

The fact that the first acute post-war crisis of capitalism did not end in the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the creation of Soviet republics in a number of advanced countries, but, on the contrary, ended in the defeat of the revolutionary movements and the transition to a relative, partial stabilization of capitalism, must be ascribed primarily to the failure of the Communist Parties in those countries to overcome the influence of Social-Democratism upon large sections of the workers and to bring about the revolutionary unity of the working class. However, the temporary and relative stabilization of capitalism was not of long duration. Events have shown that Lenin and Stalin were right. Today we see the imminence of new revolutionary upheavals and struggles. What is now of prime importance is for the Communist Parties to be fully armed with the weapon of Bolshevism so as to be able to

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prepare the working class for the impending revolutionary struggles.

No defeat, and no terror, however savage, could prevent the Communist Parties, in all the past twenty years, from holding aloft the banner of their struggle for the cause of the emancipation of the working class, for the cause of socialism and the Soviet Union. If today the Communist International leads Communist Parties engaged in a heroic struggle in all countries of the world, and relies on thousands and scores of thousands of self-sacrificing cadres, who have learned to wield their weapons against the enemy ever more efficiently, and whose contact with the masses is becoming ever closer, that is due primarily to the services rendered by Lenin and Stalin, those great teachers of Bolshevism and leaders of the working class of all countries.

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ENGELS ON DIALECTICS OF NATURE

By D. C. LUCAS

THE English translation of Frederick Engels' *Dialectics of Nature** is an event of the first importance for students of Marxism in this country. It forms a necessary supplement to *Anti-Dühring* and *Ludwig Feuerbach*. The translation and careful editing of this collection of articles and notes are the work of Clemens Dutt, English Marxist scholar; the preface is written by Professor J. B. S. Haldane, the noted English biologist, who has also enriched the text with explanatory notes. The text follows that of the *Gesamtausgabe* of the works of Marx and Engels, published by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute in Moscow (1935).

Marx and Engls were always deeply interested in the progress of natural science and its philosophy. Marx's earliest published work, his doctor's thesis of 1841, written at a time when the young Hegel pupil was still busy finding his way from idealism to materialism, investigated the differences in the teachings of Demokritos and Epikuros, the great atomists of antiquity. As early as 1851 we find Marx in correspondence with Engels on the application of electricity to agriculture. Both Marx's and Engels' published works, as well as their correspondence, abound with references to natural science, and even in November, 1882, on the eve of his death, Marx reveals his excitement concerning recent experiments demonstrating the possibility of long-distance transmission of electric power.

It was Engels who, in the division of labor tacitly accepted by the two friends, found himself specially assigned to the domain of natural science and its philosophy. He was not impelled into this field by a pure desire for knowledge alone. His responsibilities in the Manchester branch of the textile firm of Ermen and Engels had increased considerably about 1858, when this interest took definite form. In this period the chemistry of dyes was rapidly advanced, mainly influenced by the work of the German chemist, Liebig. A pupil of this great man, A. W. Hoffmann, had founded a chemical institute in London, where several young men had followed him, among them Karl Schorlemmer, with whom Engels established a lasting friendship, not only by a common love for chemistry, but by

* *Dialectics of Nature*, International Publishers, New York, $2.50.

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common conviction. At the time they met, Schorlemmer was, as Engels expressed it in 1892 after Schorlemmer's death, "already a fully convinced Communist, who only had to learn from us the economic foundation of a conviction acquired a long time before." The influence of this man, who should be better remembered among progressive scientists, is manifested in the ease with which Engels manipulates chemical terminology.

This turn to the study of science was accompanied by a renewed interest in Hegelian dialectics. In 1858, Marx, preparing the *Critique of Political Economy* with its famous preface on historical materialism, wrote to Engels that the method of his work had been substantially influenced by a renewed scanning of Hegel's *Logic*. His words found Engels in a receptive mood: "Do send me Hegel's *Philosophy of Nature* as you promised," he answered. "I am now doing some physiology and shall combine it with comparative anatomy. There are some highly speculative things here, all of which have only recently been discovered, however; I am very eager to see if the old man did not scent something of them. This much is certain; if he had a philosophy of nature to write *today* the facts would fly into his hands from every side." (July 14, 1858.)

The conclusions to which Engels' study led him in those days are mentioned in *Ludwig Feuerbach* and also in this present volume. He lists the three most fundamental discoveries in natural science of his period, which he finds in (1) the discovery of the cell by Schleiden (in plants) and by Schwann (in animals), accomplished about 1836; (2) the transformation of energy from mechanical motion into heat, from heat into light, from light into chemical energy, from this into electricity, from this into magnetism, etc., discovered from 1840 onward; and (3) the discovery of the evolution of species, published by Darwin in 1859.

Engels' reasons are clear. These discoveries were not only of the first importance for the application of science to society, but they also established new principles, which broadened the outlook of science enormously. These discoveries established new and fundamental relations between fields hitherto separated. Plants and animals, formerly considered as divided in isolated species, now were found to have a common physiological structure in the cell, and a historical and genetic relation in their evolution. Heat, mechanical motion, electricity, etc., formerly conceived as entirely different phenomena of nature, now were found to be so much related to one another that under proper conditions one form of energy could be transformed into the other. Isolation was being replaced by relation, single relations replaced by a thousand forms of interrelations, and the endless net of connections in the universe was shown to cover an equally endless group of different scientific fields. The metaphysical point of view had become impossible.

This is the discovery of dialectics in nature. Hegel had proclaimed it,

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though he saw dialectics only in the human mind. Marx and Engels saw the relations established in the laboratories of their time, right before their eyes. Hegel's dialectics, they found anew, was not a construction of ideas alone, it was the law of nature. Despite their criticism of Hegel's idealistic method, their respect for "the old man" remained, and they regularly consulted Hegel's writings. At more than one place in *Dialectics of Nature* Engels points out how much Hegel, despite his weird language and his idealistic habit of constructing facts instead of learning from nature, was essentially on the right track. Hence his conviction that many of these new fundamental discoveries "would have pleased old Hegel." Furthermore, Marx and Engels grasped the importance of Darwin's conclusions immediately after they were published, in sharp contrast to the reluctance shown by many a professional colleague of Darwin.

Another example showing how Engels' materialistic control of Hegel's dialectics endowed him with keen understanding of purely scientific issues is his insistence that life is the characteristic mode of behavior of proteins. This point of view, as Haldane points out, appeared very one-sided to most biochemists for a long period, but has been vindicated by experimental work of recent years.

* * *

It was a still a big step from a constant interest in natural science to a systematic study of the dialectics of nature. Engels took this step about 1873, when the heavy strain of work connected with the First International had been temporarily released. Almost all notes in his *Dialectics of Nature* date from the years 1873-82, the years in which Engels wrote *Anti-Dühring*, concerning which some notes are now published for the first time as an appendix to the present volume. Hardly any material dates from the later part of Engels' life, from 1883, the year of Marx's death, to 1895. During this period Engels devoted all his time to the editing of the two last volumes of *Capital* and to guiding the growing international socialist movement. He never found the leisure to publish these notes in book form. There are several documents which give us a right to believe that he actually planned doing so, the most convincing of which is an outline printed on pages 269-270 of the present volume. Since it shows how Engels conceived the field covered by his philosophy of nature, we reprint it here:

"(1.) Historical introduction: the metaphysical outlook has become impossible in natural science owing to the very development of the latter.

"(2.) Course of the theoretical development in Germany since Hegel (old preface). The return to dialectics takes place unconsciously, hence contradictory and slow.

"(3.) Dialectics as the science of the total connections. Main laws: transformations of quantity and quality—mutual penetration of polar opposites and transformation into each other when driven to extremes—development by contradiction or negation of the negation—spiral form of development.

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"(4.) The interconnection of the sciences. Mathematics, mechanics, physics, chemistry, biology (Comte), St. Simon and Hegel.

"(5.) Surveys of the seperate sciences and their dialectical content:

"1. Mathematics: dialectical aids and expressions—mathematical infinite really occurring.

"2. Celestial mechanics — now merged into a *process*—Mechanics: point of departure was inertia, which is only the negative expression of the indestructibility of motion.

"3. Physics—passage of the molecular motions into one another. Clausius and Loschmidt.

"4. Chemistry: theories, energy.

"(5.) Surveys of the separate scisity and chance.

"6. The limits of knowledge. Dubois-Reymond and Nägeli—Helmholtz, Kant, Hume.

"7. The mechanistic theory — Haeckel.

"8. The plastidule* soul—Haeckel and Nägeli.

"9. Science and teaching** — Virchow.

"10. The cell state—Virchow.

"11. Darwinian politics and theory of society — Haeckel and Schmidt. Differentiation of human being through *labor*. Application of economics to natural science. Helmholtz's *Work* (Popular Lectures II)."

These notes indicate the plan in Engels' mind. Almost all of his remarks and articles fit in somewhere under one of the eleven headings. The correctness and the universality of his approach are also shown. A philosophy of nature would nowadays have to follow similar paths. There would be a different emphasis now, after sixty or seventy years of continuous scientific discovery, and at present Haeckel, Nägeli and Virchow might be displaced by more modern scientists; but as a whole, the outline stands today as in Engels' time. The reason is, of course, that though scientific results follow one another and change continually the momentary outlook of science, the general scientific method remains. Or better: the scientific method is more and more recognized in the way Engels saw it. It has now become entirely impossible to see the sciences as isolated subjects without relation to each other; the world is now seen by all scientists as a structure in eternal process, and all writers on the sciences and its method are forced to some kind of dynamic integration.

Engels anticipated the progress of science in the many stormy years which have elapsed since he wrote. He foresaw, to give a few more examples, the necessity of a closer investigation of the connection between chemical and electrical action, which now has led to the important field of electrochemistry. He criticized the theory of electrical "matter," divided into positive and negative particles, which was popular even a few decades ago, and criticized the mechanistic notion of force propounded by men like Helmholtz. Professor Haldane, in his preface, expresses his belief that the sections of the book which

* The plastidule was a primitive living unit smaller than the cell postulated by Haeckel, on rather inadequate grounds, more or less anticipating the gene. It was supposed to have a soul. (From a footnote by Professor Haldane.)

** In a debate between Haeckel and Virchow on academic freedom.—*D.C.L.*

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deal with biology are the most immediately valuable to scientists today. A specialist in mechanics or statistics may well recognize subtleties in Engels' remarks on these subjects valuable to mathematicians and statisticians as well.

* * *

The main value of Engels' work on the dialectics of nature does not lie, however, in the accuracy of some of his predictions; he sometimes erred in these, though usually in the company of the best scientific experts of his day. Professor Haldane has done an admirable job in explaining the modern position of science with respect to Engels' remarks.* It is possible to find instances where Engels' observations on natural science are out of date. The best answer to this kind of criticism is to invite comparison of Engels' notes with any other nineteenth century philosopher of nature, whether Hegel, Comte or Haeckel, or even some of our modern philosophers. Engels' extreme vitality can stand any comparison.

The importance of Engels' notes is in his method, of which all the applications and forecasts are only examples. It is the general dialectical method, which he and Marx derived from Hegel, but developed in a highly original way, based on their fundamental materialism. Engels begins by explaining the three fundamental laws of dialectics, as he also did in *Anti-Dühring*, and then proceeds with a number of important special applications. We list a few.

1. *Objective versus subjective dialectics:*

"Dialectics, so-called *objective* dialectics, prevails throughout nature, and so-called subjective dialectics, dialectical thought, is only the reflex of the movement in opposites which asserts itself everywhere in nature, and which by the continual conflict of the opposites and their final merging into one another, or into higher forms, determines the life of nature." (pp. 206-07.)

Engels gives a series of examples from electricity, biology and the revolution of 1848, to show how the division—attraction-repulsion, positive-negative, either-or—which thinking men must make, become fluid under the ever-changing events in the real world.

2. *Criticism of empiricism:*

"Exclusive empiricism, which at most allows thinking in the form

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* With some explanatory notes we cannot entirely agree. We list a few of them here:

P. 199, note 2. Engels means an exponential curve, not a hyperbola.—*D.C.L.*

P. 200, note 1. Engels' remarks are not based on the insufficient knowledge of his day, though he quotes an antiquated text of the eighteenth century. A correct theory of limits goes back to Cauchy (about 1820). The rigorous modern foundation of calculus does not, as the footnote implies, replace the essential contradictions of calculus, but only provides the necessary structure in which the dialectics of calculus can move. Compare Marx, *Capital I*, in the chapter on the metamorphosis of commodities: "The development of the commodities does not remove these contradictions, but creates the *form* in which they can move. This is the general method in which real contradictions are solved."—*D.C.L.*

P. 257, note 2. This note seems to prove the opposite of what it claims, because it seems to assign a special *a priori* importance to repulsion in nature as opposed to attraction, which is supposed as only apparent. It might have been better to point out how in the recent development of physics sometimes attraction, and then again repulsion seem to have preference in physical theories.—*D.C.L.*

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of mathematical calculation, imagines that it operates only with undeniable facts. In reality, however, it operates predominantly with out-of-date notions, with the largely obsolete products of thought of its predecessors. . . . This kind of empiricism is as credulous towards the results of the thought of its predecessors as it is sceptical in its attitude to the results of contemporary thought. For it the experimentally established facts have gradually become inseparable from the traditional interpretation associated with them." (p. 113.)

And as an example Engels quotes the physicists of his time who from sheer empiricism held on to antiquated theories of electricity, in which they believed so much that they thought them the natural theories based on facts. There are still people who "only believe the facts" and forget that every arrangement of facts implies a theory. Much of our present-day positivism is only a quasi-scientific way of introducing antiquated idealist notions.

Engels repeatedly points to the stupidity of pure empiricism, showing how it falls into the crudest mistakes, as those made by English scientists who from sheer empiricism turned to belief in the spirit world. Indeed, the most extreme degree of credulity was found not among the German philosophers who, like Hegel and Schelling, tried "to force the objective world into the framework of [their] subjective thought," but "rather in the opposite trend, which, relying on mere experience, treats thought with sovereign disdain and really has gone to the furthest extreme in emptiness of thought." (p. 297.) Such eminent pupils of the empiricist school of Francis Bacon as Alfred Russell Wallace, the biologist, and William Crookes, the physicist, succumbed to the charms of the spirit world and showed an almost unbelievable credulity.

3. *Criticism of "pure thought":* Engels was equally alert to the danger arriving from the opposite of empiricism, the attempt to discover truth from pure thought alone. "Hegel," he writes, "constructed his theory of light and color out of pure thought, and in so doing fell into the *grossest empiricism* of homebred philistine experience. . . *e.g.*, where he adduced against Newton the mixture of colors used by painters." (p. 263.)

Where empiricism, pushed to an extreme, leads to the crudest forms of constructions of the human mind, its opposite, pure thought, pushed to an extreme, leads to crude empiricism. The correct approach is in a balanced unity of reasoning and experiment. Most scientists will agree that experimentation is necessary, but some will frown at speculation. Engels brings out that there may be sense in speculation, if done by a capable mind. The scientist Oken discovered protoplasm and the cell by an intuitive reasoning long before experimentation proved him right. (p. 176.) Marx and Engels were always eager to point out how much sense was hidden in some constructions of Hegel or Schelling.

4. *Chance and necessity:* Engels' note on the relation between chance

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and necessity (pp. 230-35) belongs to the best ever written on this subject and is a brilliant example of dialectical reasoning.

"What can be more sharply contradictory than these two thought determinations?" asks Engels. "Common sense, and with it the great majority of natural scientists, treats necessity and chance as determinations that exclude one another once for all. A thing, a circumstance, a process is either accidental or necessary, but not both."

The strictest determinism, which denies chance altogether, must reach the conclusion that even the most insignificant facts of daily life have been produced, by means of an unshatterable necessity, from the gaseous sphere from which the solar system was derived. This sphere was already so constituted that these events had to happen thus and not otherwise. Such assumptions clearly make any science impossible. The eternal decree according to which everything happens may as well be called God. Moreover, as every individual event has more causal connections than all scientists in the world could follow up, every event remains essentially unexplainable. Chance is not explained by necessity in this way, but rather necessity is degraded to the production of what is merely accidental. We cannot reject the so-called accidental. If we say that the necessary is the sole thing of scientific interest and the accidental is a matter of indifference to science, we proclaim that only what can be brought under laws, hence what one *knows*, is interesting, but what cannot be brought under laws, and therefore what one does not know, is a matter of indifference and can be ignored. It is clear that, in whatever direction we turn such an assumption, we are unable to arrive at science.

We see, thus, that neither necessity nor chance can be ignored. The true scientific method must find the relation between them, or better, must find the frame in which both categories find their appropriate place. As an example, Engels quotes Darwin's theory, which starts from the widest existing basis of chance. Precisely, the infinite accidental differences between the individuals within a single species, whose immediate causes can be demonstrated only in very few cases, form the foundation of regularity and necessity in biology. To arrive at this new necessity as proclaimed in the theory of evolution, Darwin had to question the previous basis of all regularity in biology, the concept of species in its previous metaphysical rigidity and unchangeability. Necessity here is based on chance, and the study of chance phenomena derives its meaning only through an underlying necessity.

It is characteristic for Engels that again he points to Hegel as the philosopher who saw the correct relationship, at the same time veiling it in the most abstruse language. This explanation of the relation of necessity and chance is a good example of the Marxist contention that many of Hegel's abstract and weird formulations only receive an

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understandable meaning by a materialistic interpretation. Materialistic dialectics is not a mere translation of idealistic dialectics into another language, it is an improvement, a higher form of understanding.

Engels' formulation is corroborated by modern statistics and the theory of probability. The mathematical theory of probability shows the necessity in chance events, and the statistician knows how his forecasts can come true only if the structure underlying his data is not changed too much. Poincaré's remark that the laws of probability apply only where small causes produce big results (as for instance in casting dice, where a small initial change of the die before it is thrown may lead to an entirely different number), fits well into Engels' work. It is again one of those discoveries "which would have pleased old Hegel."

5. *Dialectical versus formal logic:* Formal logic, as often taught in our schools, is a mere enumeration of our forms of thought, the various judgments and conclusions. They are placed side by side in an isolated way: when A is B, and B is C, then A is C; when some A are B, and B is C, then some A are C, etc. Dialectical treatment of logic "derives these forms out of one another, makes one subordinate to another instead of putting them on an equal level, it develops the higher forms out of the lower." (p. 237.) In this way we can show that these laws of logic are not what they seem in the old treatment, sheer laws of thought, but are based on laws of nature. In other words, where formal logic seems to sum up only certain laws of the mind, dialectical logic expresses laws of the real world, in an endless pattern of relations.

Engels gives an example. That friction produces warmth was known to prehistoric man, in a practical way: he made fire by rubbing. But many thousands of years must have elapsed before friction was recognized as a general source of heat. By then the human brain was sufficiently developed to be able to form the judgment: friction is a source of heat (a so-called positive judgment of inherence).

Still further thousands of years passed until, in the nineteenth century, this special process was investigated in its relation to other processes, and the general law was discovered: all mechanical motion is capable of being converted into heat by means of friction. This was a judgment of a higher order, stating something about all things of a certain kind (a universal judgment of subsumption). This change in a process of formal logic was the result of a tremendous advance of knowledge.

Still later, in 1845, Mayer discovered that any form of motion can undergo transformation into any other form of motion (heat into electricity, electricity into mechanical motion, etc.). This could be expressed into a new logical statement: an apodeictic* judgment of the notion, which is the highest form of judgment (of the form: the

* Involving necessary truth.

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house constituted in such and such a way is good).

These three judgments, which could be called one of singularity, of particularity and universality, now appear, not as a development of the thought form of judgment as such, as it still appears in Hegel, but as a development of our empirically based theoretical knowledge of motion in general.

6. *History of science:* For Engels, the philosophy and progress of science is indeed inseparable from its history. The sections on the history of science are among the best passages in the book. Some of the leading ideas can be found in *Anti-Dühring* or *Ludwig Feuerbach,* and in remarks scattered through Marx's *Capital,* but much material will be novel to most readers. Engels' central theme is the dependence of science on the social-economic conditions and the related technology of a particular period. He illustrates it for the time of the Renaissance, to which he returns several times, comparing it with the ancient world. Instructive is his listing (pp. 216ff.) of the differences between the situation at the end of the ancient world, *ca.* A.D. 300, and at the end of the Middle Ages, *ca.* 1453. This allows him to discover the conditions under which learning could blossom again in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Here is also a list of inventions and discoveries, showing how much Engels was aware of the importance of technology to the understanding of a historical period. Few scientists in the nineteenth century were aware of the usefulness of this method, and the history of technology is even now a neglected subject at our universities. There are other historical studies in *Dialectics of Nature,* such as the article on D'Alembert and Leibniz (pp. 56ff.), which deserve the full attention of every historian of science.

* * *

This book of Engels will go far toward dispelling the legend that Marxist dialectics is a construction of theological minds, dry as dust, unable to cover the facts or trivial in restating material already known in a better way. This accusation goes back to Eduard Bernstein, father of revisionism in the old German Social-Democracy, who kept Engels' manuscript on dialectics of nature in his desk because an empiricist friend advised against publication. Such charges have been constantly repeated, especially in recent years, to counteract the rising influence of Marxism in intellectual circles. We have only to mention names like Hogben, Hook and Edmund Wilson to show that this kind of criticism is not inspired by an academic search for truth, but is an integral part of the opposition to the revolutionary labor movement and its spearhead, the Communist Party. The philosophy of nature has always been singled out for attack, partly because such criticism may conceal political bias, and partly because of the scantiness of the available Marxist material. Engels' *Anti-Dühring* is taken up over and over again and its examples dissected. Examples are an

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excellent way of illustrating a theory, and Engels' examples are of the best. Illustrations are, however, not the theory itself. Lenin has warned against such overemphasis on examples:

"The identity of opposites is taken as the sum total of *examples* ('for example, a seed,' 'for example, primitive Communism.' The same is true of Engels. But with him it is 'in the interests of popularization . . .') and not as a *law of knowledge (and* as a law of the objective world)." (*Selected Works,* Vol. XI, p. 81.)

Engels' newly translated book increases considerably the number of examples. At the same time it throws new and ample light on the general method, as our illustrations have shown. This will serve to refute much of the old criticism. No-one reading *Dialectics of Nature* can fail to detect its spirit, which is not that of a hair-splitting theological doctor, but that of a man who tries to coordinate scientific knowledge and to test constantly the validity of his conclusions based on a wealth of factual information. Both the pitfalls of dogmatism and of empiricism are avoided with masterly control of the method. Dialectics stands out as the conscious application of the scientific method, which, when everything is said, is but the law of common sense. Let us sum up a few of its characteristics, as again revealed by Engels.

1. It is wrong to identify dialectics with the formal and external scheme of "thesis—antithesis—synthesis." Hegel himself warned against such formalism, though he sometimes fell victim to it. Engels hardly mentions the scheme. This does not mean that it is wrong. Marx uses it from time to time with great success, as in *Capital,* where he demonstrates the historical necessity of expropriating the expropriators. But we must not identify dialectics with a scheme. Lenin, characterizing dialectics in his posthumously published philosophical notes, employed sixteen points, demonstrating how many sides there are to this general method of scientific thinking.*

2. Materialist dialectics is a great improvement over the old method of Hegel. Engels' book abounds in places where he improves on Hegel's statements by applying his knowledge and understanding of the facts. It shows the superiority of materialism over idealism, already widely recognized in the sphere of social science, in the domain of the philosophy of nature.

3. Dialectics is a creative method, because it transcends boundaries which seem fixed or absolute at the moment, and brings the full measure of historical experience to apply to a given set of scientific facts. It is creative even if the man who uses it is unaware of its particular name. Mr. Jourdain in Moliere's comedy, as Engels points out (p. 34) "had spoken prose all his life without having the slightest inkling of it." A practical scientist may reason correctly in his field and arrive at

* See "Lenin on the Elements of Materialist Dialectics," *The Communist,* May, 1935, p. 428. —*The Editor.*

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important discoveries without knowing the precise expression of the general laws of the scientific method.

4. There is nothing mysterious about the dialectical method. There are those who, like Sidney Hook, attempt to show that its formulation "engenders a mystical philosophy of nature, prepares the way for a doctrine of 'two truths,' one ordinary, scientific and profane, the other esoteric, 'dialectical' and 'higher,' and finally that it encourages an attitude which easily leads to censorship, dictation and persecution of scientists." Nothing could be further from the truth, as this work readily demonstrates. Engels never criticizes in the name of any "higher" truth. Much of his criticism of the luminaries of his day, of Kelvin, Haeckel and Clausius, will at present be readily accepted by students of science. He proclaims against Haeckel that induction does not necessarily oppose deduction. He shows in an impressive number of cases that quantitative changes lead to changes in quality, which is now taught even in the high schools. He demonstrates the historical aspect of the so-called "eternal" laws of nature, which again is widely accepted today after the shattering of so many "eternal" laws of the nineteenth century. He illustrates the dependence of scientific development on class structure and technology. He attacks Clausius' theory that the world is running till all motion will have disappeared, a theory now discredited. There is nothing mysterious about it at all. Whitehead, Carnap, Eddington, Natorp are far more mysterious than Engels. Engels' grasp of the dialectical method lies in his consistent use of common sense, of which he had more than the average scientist.

And the formulation of Marxist thought? Shall we adopt another language? The term "dialectics," the critics claim, is confusing. We answer that there is no better word for the very essential complex of ideas which the world expresses. Who desires to do without it must needs create another technical language. Comparison of Marx's and Engels' works with those of professional authors on the scientific method shows how relatively simple is the language of Marx and Engels. They did not even create the term "dialectics" and the laws which this term expresses. It has been well known in philosophy from Plato's day to the present. Marx and Engels enriched the conception, just as modern physics has enriched Demokritos' conception of the atom. Its use will as little invoke censorship and dictation of the scientist as the formulation of the abstract laws of prose writing will invoke censorship of authors.

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